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ABSTRACT

The 12 articles in this book present diverse views of bilingual and multicultural education. Three sections contain chapters on the following topics: theoretical and philosophical views; policy, administration, and teacher training; and bilingual and special education. The three chapters in section one are: "Problems in the Study of Second Language Learners" (Andres Barona and Cynthia Gonzalez); "Major Guidelines To Be Followed in Developing a Successful Bilingual/Multicultural Teacher Education Program" (Anne Richardson Gayles); and "Code-Switching, Intuitive Knowledge, and the Bilingual Classroom" (Adalberto Aguirre, Jr.). The six chapters in section two are: "Interactional Style of Teachers and Parents during Bilingual Instruction" (Eugene E. Garcia); "A Study of Training Needs in Preservice and Inservice Bilingual Education" (William L. Johnson, Billy E. Askins, Leslie Huling-Austin, and John Robinson); "The Relative Importance of Bilingual Education in the Maintenance of the Minority Language" (Eliverio Chavez); "Training for Minority Language Parents: Are We Providing Them What They Want or Need?" (Jim Bransford and Rodolfo L. Chavez); "Chicana Doctoral Students: Another Look at Educational Equity" (Jayni Flores); and "A Comparison of Bilingual Education Policies and Practices in Peru and the United States" (Liliana Minaya-Rowe). The three chapters in section three are: "A Survey of Bilingual Special Education Inservice Needs: Perceptions of Educators from a Rural State" (Ofelia Miramontes, Leonard Baca, and Nancy Rowch); "The Interaction between Families of Culturally Diverse Handicapped Children and the School" (Anne Gallegos and Roberto Gallegos); and "Assessing Limited English Proficient Students for Special Education" (Mary Beth Ryan). (CBH)

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Hermán S. García
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Edited by
Hermán S. García
and Rudolfo Chávez Chávez

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Foreword

Tomás A. Arciniega

Bilingual education as an emerging discipline has made significant progress during the past decade. Although the path has not been an easy one to forge, it is becoming apparent to virtually all in the profession that a legitimate, recognizable base of knowledge in this important field is fast taking solid form. What has begun to happen, especially during the last few years, is truly exciting.

From a few scattered initiatives on the part of a small number of nascent scholars, who in these early days were uniformly labeled "radicals," our ranks have swelled to a genuine wave of bilingual education scholars. The emphasis continues to be on the development of a firm base of knowledge through the refinement and adaptation of current theory coupled with important conceptual departures from old conventional-wisdom notions about how one teaches bilingual students.

Importantly, what we are seeing today is the emergence of new departures and the iteration of models that depart just as radically from some of the now conventional-wisdom notions of the early bilingual theoreticians. Significantly, also, much of this new stream of research and conceptual work comes solidly anchored in practitioner applications and the real-world problems of the bilingual education teachers of America. This is healthy and is a tremendously exciting development in which all of us should take pride.

All this has transpired despite the continuing political attacks on bilingual education. To many, the progress seems truly remarkable, and perhaps it is. To my way of thinking, it is not so much a remarkable occurrence as an affirmation of the importance and evidence of the need for such knowledge. Our children's needs in education and how they have been dealt with in the monolingual educational establishment of the United States have always been real and tangible problems. They continue to need solving, and bilingual educators are beginning

to provide empirically proven and theoretically sound alternative answers to those problems.

The work of all the contributors to this collection is very much in the mainstream of that new wave. Their work is solid and deserves the serious attention of the profession in general and bilingual educators in particular. Practitioners and researchers alike will find the articles not just informative but well focused on the important issues that should matter most to those who truly care about ethnolinguistic youngsters.

Finally, let me make note of the inclusion of special education as part of this book. I am delighted for several reasons. First, the special educational problems of the linguistically different learner are important and need to concern us. And secondly, a more important reason is that bilingual education specialists have had an unfortunately defensive bias toward the field of special education. For too long we have rejected the inclusion and involvement of special education researchers in bilingual education because our children were so often mislabeled and placed in "those classes." Certainly that has been the case and continues to be a problem in too many places even today. However, it does not justify the negative posture we so often have assumed. As the work sampled here, and as a great deal more excellent work that is out there, shows so clearly, we indeed can benefit a great deal from this complementary stream of research. Recognition of that fact is long overdue; we need the involvement of those researchers in our field.

Thank you, Hermán S. García and Rudolfo Chávez Chávez for your superb accomplishment in the compilation and organization of this book of separate-but-related works on ethnolinguistic issues in education. It is an important contribution to the literature of bilingual education, and the articles collected herein make a beautiful and powerful statement about the distance we have traveled.

Editors' Introduction

Hermán S. García and Rudolfo Chávez Chávez

Within a bilingual/multicultural classroom, learners may be consumed with their personal insights, with the mastering of a skill, or with the joy of exploring something totally new—big or small. Similarly, teachers may be enveloped by purposeful pedagogical activity and the sense that learning activity will make the difference in their students' academic and personal success. Recently, however, several studies have revealed that ethnic and linguistic minority students have been devastated by the American school experience. Characteristic of this situation are the reports that clearly illustrate the high dropout rates of Chicano, black, and other minority students. The present upward trends of ethnolinguistic students attending American schools adds to the questions of quality and equality of the teaching/learning process—pedagogy.

Pedagogy has been described at the human activity of teaching and of helping others to learn. Soltis (1984) views pedagogy as being "as basic and universal a human social activity as is communicating or having a kinship system" (p. 7).

In viewing the philosophical perspectives in this book, one can see they are not at all difficult to understand if one is even slightly in tune with the sad but true state of affairs in the education of ethnolinguistic students in the United States. No one can deny the poor schooling language minorities have received in the United States. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (1971 & 1974) repeatedly reported the adverse conditions that minorities and language minorities faced daily in American classrooms. This book provides research evidence on how these adversely affected children can be helped. The initial reasoning behind bilingual education and ESL was, in fact, to provide equality of educational opportunity. The thinking at the time (and still is, to a large degree) was that non-English-speaking and limited-English-speaking children were not receiving the full

benefit of an education that was being presented to them in a language they did not understand, namely English.

Thus today one can find in books like this one the sophistication that proponents of a bilingual education have developed via research. And there is more, much more to come. The holistic approach of bilingual education should serve as a model to those educators who seem to be fastened to traditional methods of educating children.

> Whether it is considered a basic sociobiological adaptive function passed on genetically or a universally learned social practice necessary to the continuity of culture reproduction, development, and transformation pedagogy is an essential ingredient in the development of a socialized human being. We all teach, and we all are taught. (Soltis, 1984, p. 7).

Because of this well-described and complex dynamic that is at the root of teaching and learning, pedagogy, then, by its very nature, should be investigated. On the one hand, to understand the phenomenon fully, the empirical, interpretive, and the normative dimensions of pedagogy should be investigated. On the other hand, we as teachers, learners, and researchers should not try to investigate every dimension, but should be committed to making sure that every dimension is investigated. The articles presented in this book present such diverse views. It is our intent in this collection to present pedagogy within bilingual/multicultural classrooms as a field that can be studied from several theoretical and philosophical bents. Put quite simply, we need many diverse research conversations to continue if indeed we are to understand fully the educational devastation of ethnolinguistic minority students and make the positive changes needed for their educational success. We believe that this book will help advance those goals.

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Problems in the Study of Second Language Learners

Andrés Barona and Cynthia González

Problems related to the study of second language learners are described. Factors affecting language development are discussed, along with the difficulties experienced by professionals in defining terms and aspects of language assessment. Considerations and cautions related to the measurement of language skills are presented.

For the most part, achieving proficiency in one's first language is easier than achieving proficiency in a second language where skills can vary to differing degrees. Nonetheless, many factors have been considered as being influential in second language learning. These include psychological, sociological, and affective aspects. The psychological effects involved in second language learning situations where subject matter deficits and failures have occurred can become increasingly difficult to overcome or recover from (Saville-Troike, 1973). Such situations tend to contribute to low self-images and may decrease motivation. Sociological aspects may involve the degree to which the child's native language is accepted and valued by parents and community alike (Saville-Troike, 1973). Negative attitudes and actions can be perceived as rejections of a child's language and cultural experience while suggesting inferiority. Spurred by fears of such failures and rejections, affective factors serve to increase an individual's anxiety and pervasive feelings of alienation from the dominant culture.

Similarly, the measurement of language has been influenced by linguistic, psychological, and social theory. Language assess-

ment, criticized for its subjectivity in the hands of classroom teachers (Spolsky, 1978), was substantially influenced by more formal methods adopted from structural linguistics and behavioral psychology (Lado, 1957). These theories, which advocate studying communication "habits" (Lado, 1957) and measuring or evaluating discrete items or elements of language, contribute to and reinforce the need for validity and reliability of language assessment techniques (Genessee, 1981). Sociolinguists have contributed the notion of speech style or language variety stemming from the social and psychological variables that are involved during interpersonal communication (Genessee, 1981). While influential, these theories alone have failed to provide a sound basis for assessing communicative competence (Genessee, 1981), and the use of informal language testing continues to be supported for classroom purposes. Recently, the notion of communicative competence has gained credibility. By considering the situation in which communication takes place and focusing on the interaction between social and psychological variables, it has been found that this interaction results in meaningful communicative interaction for the second language learner, thus producing more competent speakers (Canale & Swain, 1980).

Federal and state legislation has recognized the existence of a large number of bilingual or non-English speaking school-aged children (Paulston, 1980). As a result, bilingual education and English as second language (ESL) programs were created. With their creation came a need to develop language assessment instruments in order to determine the need for such programs as well as to establish entry and exit criteria for these classes. The many factors involved in the area of language proficiency (psychological, sociological, linguistic, and affective) have yielded many approaches to language assessment by researchers and academicians from a variety of disciplines, as well as by those involved in educating minority children.

In addition to creating a strong interest in and need for language assessment instruments, the rise of bilingual education and ESL programs also resulted in a multitude of new terms that attempted to delineate both language dominance and language proficiency with respect to limited or non-English-speaking populations. These terms will be briefly reviewed before continuing the present discussion.

DEFINING ABSTRACT TERMS

The multiplicity of terms used to describe various aspects of language assessment have served only to add to the misinterpretations, misconceptions, and conflicting theoretical frameworks already existing in this field. Such terms as *language proficiency*, *language dominance*, *bilingual*, *limited English speaker*, *communicative competence*, *linguisticcompetence*, *primary language*, and *home language* are included in the jargon subset that has been created. In many cases, the terms have been incompletely or vaguely defined and have added to the already abundant confusion in the field of language learning. For example, *limited-English-proficient* has been used to justify the placement of non-English speakers into total immersion English classes or the instruction of children whose functional language has been shown to be English in their primary language (Baecher, 1981). While decisions based on interpretations of this term lack logic and consistency, they are nevertheless a commonplace reality.

Although the term *language proficiency* is commonly used, it has been plagued by vague descriptions that have resulted in the formation of rather ambiguous concepts (Hernández-Chávez, Burt, & Dulay, 1978). The term has been defined as the "degree to which an individual exhibits control over the use of the rules of a language for one, some, or all of its numerous and diverse aspects" (Burt & Dulay, 1978, p. 178), although it has been stressed that proficiency in one language does not imply a lack of proficiency in another (in reference to bilingualism). Similarly, *language dominance*, defined as the "degree of relative proficiency of an individual with respect to more than one language" should not be interpreted to imply dominance in all aspects of language (Burt & Dulay, 1978). For example, it is possible for a child to manipulate the first language system well but to simultaneously possess a more active vocabulary in the second language within specific settings, such as the school.

The terms *home language* and *primary language* are frequently used synonomously, although differences exist between the two terms. Whereas *home language* refers simply to the use of a language in a child's home by his or her parents, *primary* language refers to the language acquired initially during the first five years of life. The noncommunicative nature of the terms has been pointed out by Burt and Dulay (1978) who hold that a child's language dominance cannot be assumed on the basis of knowing only the home language; the language used by residents

of a household does not imply that the child is dominant or proficient in that same language.

Similarly, varying definitions have been given to the term *bilingual*. For the most part, these definitions have been rather broad and have resulted in somewhat misleading use. While generally the term refers to the ability to use two languages effectively (Hornby, 1977), it has also been used to describe "any individual who lives in a home where a first language other than English is spoken by one or more members of the household" (Burt & Dulay, 1978, p. 77). The latter definition is in keeping with that used in the *Survey of Language Supplement* to the July, 1975 Current Population Survey done by Waggoner (1978). Ironically, that description seems contradictory to their previous statement regarding proficiency and dominance implications within a given household.

Such terms as *limited-English-speaker* refer to individuals whose native language is one other than English. Here, *native language* refers to the language normally used by the individual or a child's parents (Waggoner, 1978).

The term *communicative competence* has been used extensively. Usage of the term has varied from only knowing the rules of a language to knowing and demonstrating grammatical, contextual, and sociolinguistic competencies (Swain & Canale, 1981). One definition describes *communicative competence* as the ability to transmit messages successfully by using linguistic or nonlinguistic means regardless of grammatical or sociolinguistic appropriateness. It has been argued that the ability to achieve a successful communication constitutes the real difference between proficiency and nonproficiency in a language (Swain & Canale, 1981). However, there are arguments against this notion.

Although defining communicative competence is a complex and difficult task, it has been generally accepted that communication is based upon interaction and is therefore unpredictable (Genessee, 1981). Recently, the view that communicative competence should be considered within a broad, culturally based framework including but not confined to the child's school language (Rivera & Simich, 1981) and that both the prediction and description of communicative competence are achieved by the measurement of all aspects of language has been espoused. This latter view has gained acceptance in proficiency assessment circles in recent years (Rivera & Simich, 1981).

Clearly, consensus has not yet been reached on many of the essential aspects involved in determining proficiency. As Genessee (1981) realistically pointed out, "We cannot test what we cannot describe" (p.33). Thus, major drawbacks appear to exist in the assessment of language proficiency.

CONSIDERATIONS BEFORE PASSING JUDGMENT

Identifying dominance patterns is primarily done for diagnostic purposes. However, the dominance assessment procedure does not necessarily provide the planner with a decision as to the language in which the content areas should be taught (Ramírez, 1979). Many times, this decision is based on such factors as the availability of materials and personnel, the ease with which the content material can be interpreted, and the degree to which the material is culture-bound. Proper interpretation of both languages is necessary so that a balance of proficiency levels is maintained and so that certain domains are not bound to a particular language (Ramírez, 1979).

Assessment of language has focused on formal or standard language with little consideration given to the assessment of functional language. It is possible to possess competence not reflected in formal assessment by excluding the language from the home environment. A child's command of language can be adequate in a reduced context or in familiar conversation and yet be seen as not functional in a more formal environment such as the school (McLaughlin, 1982).

In the press for classification, many errors have been made in understating or overestimating a child's control of a second language. Indeed, one of the most frequently made errors concerns the labeling of children as bilingual. A child who enters school speaking only Spanish is frequently termed bilingual, obviously falsely. Similarly, other children are labeled bilingual simply because two languages are spoken in the home and not because fluency has been demonstrated in both languages. Unfortunately, facility in pronunciation, (that is, oral fluency) is often equated with proficiency when, in actuality, it usually precedes reading and writing fluency (McLaughlin, 1982). Too often, children quick to catch on to linguistic signals and gestures create an impression of being language proficient without necessarily having full control or function in the second language.

As a result of these pitfalls, language skill must be carefully interpreted because of the complexity of what it implies (Young, 1982). Possessing language skill does not ensure that the student possesses the kind of skill required by the public school. Indeed, such a student can be considered to be language deficient, (that is, unable to make efficient use of available vocabulary when in an unfamiliar environment). This situation may develop without the student being unlearned in the areas of either grammar or vocabulary (Young, 1973). Here, a distinction is made between *competence* and *performance*, that is, knowledge about a language versus how language is actually used. With this in mind, it is suggested that linguistic deficiencies cannot be assessed on the basis of performance alone.

Another drawback to the assessment of linguistic competency is the content of many of the language measures. Both linguistic competence and communicative competence have been associated with the learning of "cultural trivia rules," since learning another culture requires learning appropriate social uses of language (Paulston, 1978). The formal language that the measures are frequently based on is generally unfamiliar to the student, whose local cultural values and customs may differ significantly from what is presented in the assessment instrument.

A so-called bilingual student may be at a distinct disadvantage when formal language is involved; not only is it necessary for the student to be familiar with local colloquialisms and customs in both the native language and English, but now there is the added need for knowledge of what is essentially a third and new language.

The uses made of both English and Spanish by the Mexican-American population in the southwestern United States have been found to vary across social situations as well as across individuals (Holloman, 1976). This finding provides support for the need to examine a student's language use and proficiency in the familiar contexts of the home, school, and general environment to determine contextual appropriateness. Additionally, it has been recommended that strategically oriented classroom material be used when teaching the second language learner (DiPietro, 1981), with more generalizable modes of instruction needed to facilitate the application of classroom learning to real-life and situational communication. In other words, learning the target culture language is not sufficient if it cannot be effectively

reproduced in the appropriate situation away from the classroom environment (Griffin, 1979).

McLaughlin (1978) presents evidence for and against a hypothetical "critical period" in childhood, existing between the ages of 2 years and puberty, during which a child's greatest capacity for language learning exists, a capacity that the adult has lost. Support for and arguments against this notion are founded in biological or physiological viewpoints. Although arguments against this critical period hypothesis have appeared to weaken and restrict its interpretation (McLaughlin, 1978), speculation remains over the notion that a child seems to acquire language more easily than does an adult. Therefore, most techniques for language learning have been developed for use with children. Consequently, the learner who enters the system past this period often must endure the indignity of learning strategies designed for or developed with the younger child in mind.

Home language has been considered an asset to second language learning because the child is able to transfer previously acquired knowledge (Galarza, 1977). Successful transfer of this knowledge, however, is often dependent on community support, which usually serves as a model to the child. Sociolinguistic surveys have been found to be helpful in determining language use, proficiency, and attitudes toward both languages and social groups (Holloman, 1977). Too often, though, these same surveys are utilized only as a matter of formality by systems determined to dictate their own curricular priorities, refusing to allow the survey to speak for itself. Legarreta (1977) discusses language choices in Spanish bilingual classrooms and reaffirms our preceding statement. As an example, a bilingual classroom was designed to use the children's native language (in this case Spanish) and English in equal percentages. In actuality, however, far less time was spent in the dominant language, thus conveying the impression that English is a more acceptable form of communication. In spite of scientific efforts, it seems that teachers and aides most often were prone to revert to the use of English, particularly when important functions such as directives, amplification, and positive acceptance were used. More importantly, the language choices of teachers and aides "did not reflect the ethnic mix nor the communicative repertoires" of the classroom (Legarreta, 1977).

AFFECTIVE ASPECTS OF LANGUAGE LEARNING

The amount of social distance between two groups often determines the ease with which the second language learner acquires the target language (Schumann, 1976). Attitudes toward the self, the native language group, the target language group, and acquired proficiency in English as a second language were studied in Mexican-American women in the Southwest (Oller, Baca, & Vigil, 1977). The women, aged 16 to 23 years, had an ESL education average of 1.87 years and appeared to be anti-integrative. The authors explained this phenomenon as being a product of the "colonized minority who still feel the oppressive weights of being absorbed into a powerful political system in which they traditionally had little power of choice." Whatever the reasons for the attitudes, it is important to remember that children's attitudes are shaped by the community in which they live. The effects of community or cultural group attitudes should thus be considered extremely important factors in the area of second language acquisition.

There are conflicting estimates regarding the length of time it takes a child to become proficient in a language. Obviously, the amount of exposure to a language to be acquired contributes greatly to the rate of language learning. It is a commonly accepted notion that the school plays a decisive role in developing self-concepts and knowledge. It also should be recognized that the role of the home and family in language learning may be as or even more important. Knowledge and language obtained from the home can either be strengthened or ignored by the school; similarly, the home environment can attribute greater or lesser importance to school-generated skills and concepts. Unless home and school function cooperatively, a student's progress can be seriously hindered. The proper shaping and reinforcement of learning can be enhanced by becoming more closely aware of attitudes and priorities prevailing between these two influential forces in a child's life.

A school's attitude about the minority child's language and background directly affects the child's own attitude about the self and the home environment. Often, the trauma induced by social situations produces negative attitudes and deteriorates self-concept, and can only be deemed detrimental to both learning and assimilation and acculturation processes (Alptekin 1981). Until recently, many schools were alienating language-minority parents by failing to reflect the cultural beliefs, values, and

general worth of the minority group. However, it is essential that these efforts be maintained so that any existing social distance between home and school is minimized.

It has been suggested that while immigrants and foreign students experience similarities in the process of becoming acculturated, one principal difference exists: immigrants choose to settle in the "target outline" while foreign students, considering themselves to be temporary residents, lack a strong urge to assimilate in the new culture (Alptekin, 1981). As a result, it may be necessary to distinguish between these two groups of second language learners so that disparate attitudinal factors might be recognized and dealt with. This point is not meant to imply that the immigrant is totally accepting of any and all target culture impositions. In actuality, any positive attitude can easily be altered when confronted with either hostility, ill regard, or insensitivity, as is often the case.

The issue of identity conflict is increasingly becoming of interest to researchers in the field of second language learning (Alptekin, 1981; Brown, 1973; Clarke, 1976; Schumann, 1976). To become assimilated and acculturated into a new society often requires some degree of rejection of one's own culture. An individual who becomes alienated from the native culture without at the same time feeling adequately accepted by the target culture is extremely vulnerable. Learning potential—from a psychological standpoint—may be seriously decreased because of the absence of a support/social network. This alienation combined with culture shock and stress puts the second language learner at a disadvantage.

During the social and psychological stages of development, the child learns much vicariously and by modeling those to whom there is an emotional bond. Many attitudes and feelings experienced by the parent are thus incorporated by the child. Parents are particularly influential in the area of second language learning as their attitude toward the target language and culture will either facilitate or inhibit their child's learning (Saville-Troike, 1973, 1975; Schumann, 1975).

Examination of social-psychological factors in second language learning has resulted in several varying theoretical perspectives. One such perspective holds that an individual who comes from a traditional culture experiences specific conflicts while attempting to make the transition to a more modern one (Clarke, 1976). Culture and language shock are explained by Clarke as a "clash

of consciousness," or rather, difference in perceptions of daily experiences.

Similarly, bilingual individuals may experience a problem of "conflicting allegiances" (Lambert 1972). One example is the aspect of language loyalty. In a study where the extent of language loyalty was investigated in a sample of Mexican Americans residing in an Austin, Texas community, it was found that first generation Spanish speakers had maintained intraethnic communications in Spanish, while second and third-generation Spanish speakers had maintained a significantly lesser degree of Spanish communication (Thompson, 1971).

Still another conflict-causing aspect stems from barriers created as a result of unaccepting attitudes toward a child's native language. A child who has experienced negative acceptance of the native language in the school and community may react by refusing to speak the native language in the home. Parents and other family members who have not yet learned the new language may be frustrated and angered by this rejection since it implicitly signals to them that the child considers them or their ways to be inferior (Brown, 1973).

However, language shift does not always indicate rejection of a person's own ethnic group (Guitart, 1981). Many members of ethnic groups have little or no proficiency in the native language but nevertheless have maintained cultural patterns. Again, it appears that the notion of social attitudes has a significant effect on maintaining or rejecting one's cultural ways and consequently, a new language.

The second language learner must perceive the differences between the customs and values of the native and new cultures and must decide to what degree assimilation and acculturation will occur. This decision in turn determines the amount of social distance between groups. Such factors as group cohesiveness, cultural similarity, self-concept, and attitude all affect social distance and inevitably determine the rate of second language acquisition (Brown, 1973).

We have heard and read what many would just as soon regard as excuses, but which others would view as viable considerations for language acquisition failures and successes. What is actually being witnessed among our minority children in the schools is a product of more than just excuses. It is a combination of psychological and social factor impact. We, through our educational system, perpetuate the myth of equal educational

opportunity when in reality, many of our children are a few steps behind realizing "equality." It has become a phrase too easily manipulated in an attempt to rectify the socially unjust, to compensate where there has been little compensation, and to compromise where there should be no compromise less than equal to the reality of existing need. We hope that in this decade and in decades to come, we will realize a more integrative and interdisciplinary approach to remediating educational system deficiencies inherited by our language minority children. Only then can we in clear conscience attempt to alleviate existing deficiencies and deliver a more comprehensive and defensible approach to educating the language minority child.

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Major Guidelines to Be Followed in Developing a Successful Bilingual/Multicultural Teacher Education Program

Anne Richardson Gayles

Curricular experiences in a bilingual/multicultural teacher education program should be designed around the experiential and conceptual backgrounds of multiethnic children and youth. The concepts, generalizations, content, language patterns, values, attitudes, habits, and cultural heritages that are familiar to all racial and cultural groups should constitute the core of an effective bilingual/multicultural teacher education program so that the prospective teacher will acquire the competencies needed to design and implement bilingual cross-cultural programs, function effectively in ethnically pluralistic classrooms, and carry out the process of "culture context teaching," in which (1) the philosophy of cultural pluralism is practiced, (2) culturally derived teaching competencies are used in a personalized process of teaching and learning, (3) selected teaching concepts, strategies and instructional resources are culturally and linguistically appropriate for multicultural children and youth, and (4) recognition of language as a special dimension in the education of culturally and linguistically different children is of prime importance.

Every aspect of a multicultural teacher education program—general education, area of specialization, and profes-

sional education—should be designed to help the prospective teacher acquire a realistic understanding of a culturally diverse society, to assist multicultural children to cope with the persistent problems of everyday living, and to help the prospective teacher acquire competencies needed by all teachers in a culturally diverse society, and competencies needed by teachers who teach culturally different children and youth.

Educating teachers to perform successfully in a multicultural society is truly a professional challenge. The implementation of a functional multicultural teacher education program is the most demanding single obligation in teacher education today. Fortunately, there is a growing consciousness that changes must be made to prepare prospective teachers for effective instruction of pupils from diverse racial, social, religious, and cultural backgrounds.

Clearly, prospective teachers must become aware of the cultural pluralism of American society, and public education must provide an opportunity for all pupils to prepare themselves to live effectively in such a society. There is, therefore, a need for multicultural teacher education programs that will enable prospective teachers to: (a) understand their own and their pupils' environment and culture; (b) understand their own and their pupils' anxieties, insecurities, attitudes and prejudices; and (c) develop teaching skills consistent with the accepted purposes of education for a multicultural society.

Teacher training programs must prepare the prospective teacher to design and implement, with the cooperation of multicultural populations, a multicultural curriculum that will enable learners in a culturally diverse society to cope with the persistent life situations facing them. Therefore, competencies and understandings needed by multiethnic pupils as they attempt to deal with the basic problems and situations of everyday living should constitute the core of a curriculum designed to train teachers to function effectively in today's dynamic and complex society of disparate cultures. Banks (1977) wrote that if teacher education programs are to prepare preservice and inservice teachers to function successfully within multicultural classrooms, they must help teachers to acquire: more democratic attitudes and values, a clarified philosophical position related to pluralism, a process of conceptualization of ethnic studies, the ability to view

society from diverse ethnic perspectives, and knowledge of the emerging stages of ethnicity and their curricular and teaching implications.

Hilliard (1974) provided practical recommendations for the preparation of teachers who can function successfully in a culturally heterogeneous environment. He listed the following understandings, skills, and attitudes as essential for teacher effectiveness:

Essential Understandings. Teachers must understand that:

a. The teaching process is always a cross-cultural encounter;
b. The personality, values, and social background of the teacher are critical cultural inputs;
c. All teaching tools are culture bound;
d. The classroom is not a benign context but a potent matrix;
e. The student can be a victim;
f. All minds are equally complex;
g. The poor and racial or ethnic minorities can and actually have been able to learn at the same level as others when the proper environmental support was provided;
h. Teacher expectations are determining factors in building a climate for growth of students;
i. Teachers must understand that learning is related to a sense of power over some of the forces that impinge on our lives; and
j. Teachers must intimately understand the culture of their students.

Essential Skills. Teachers must possess:

a. The ability to communicate with students from other cultures;
b. The ability to diagnose the knowledge and abilities of students from other cultures;
c. Skill in the evaluation of professional literature bearing on multicultural problems;
d. Skill in self-diagnosis;
e. Skill in recognizing cultural equivalencies; and
f. Skill in detecting conscious and unconscious negative signals.

Essential Attitudes. Teachers must have:

a. Freedom from bias and openness to continuing self-examination;

b. A tendency to honor and value cultural alternatives, such as language, beliefs, values, and behaviors; and
c. The belief that a multicultural orientation is beneficial to them personally.

The recommendations of Banks and Hilliard seem to represent a comprehensive listing of competencies essential to the preparation of effective teachers for a multicultural society. Implementation of a program to accommodate these competencies will require significant changes in the academic content and experiences provided for prospective teachers. These changes will affect all facets of the college program and will require the cooperation of a large segment of the academic community. Anything less than a concentrated, committed, and cooperative effort will result in mere academic tinkering with an outmoded and ineffective teacher education program. An adequate program must be designed to provide curricular experiences within the framework discussed in the following sections. That framework encompasses the general education, area of specialization, and professional education components of teacher preparation programs.

GENERAL EDUCATION

The commonly accepted purpose of a general education program is to provide students a broad understanding of humankind's cultural heritage. A program is usually organized to provide broadening experiences in communication skills, sciences, the social sciences, and the humanities. The purpose of these experiences is to provide opportunities for students to develop understanding, appreciation, and enjoyment of contemporary civilization. Such a purpose, if effectively implemented, is consistent with the requirements for competent teachers in multicultural schools.

The general education experiences of prospective teachers should broaden their understanding of the teacher's role in a pluralistic, democratic society, as a citizen and as a teacher of multicultural citizens; help them to acquire the personality traits that are conducive to establishing effective human relations with all racial and ethnic groups; aid them in developing appreciation of people who are different from themselves in cultural, social, religious, economic, and ethnic backgrounds; and help them acquire the moral, ethical, and spiritual principles and resources that are needed for effective participation in a culturally diverse society.

The general education experiences of prospective teachers should help them to communicate their thoughts orally and in writing with enough clarity and logic to be understood by all racial and ethnic groups. It should help prospective teachers understand people as well as their cultures and contributions. Diverse cultural groups should be studied in terms of contributions they have made and are making to world civilizations, American civilization, and the local community.

Although these goals traditionally have been the stated focus of general education programs, too often instruction has degenerated into sterile, academic exercises unrelated to the unsettling events of a contemporary world. If teachers are to be provided an effective foundation for successful classroom functioning, the general education program must provide a basis for a realistic understanding of a culturally diverse society.

THE AREA OF SPECIALIZATION

The area of specialization in a multicultural teacher education program provides intensive study in the academic fields in which prospective teachers hope to teach. Content from academic fields also contributes to the achievement of professional education objectives; disciplines in the academic fields and subjects in professional education have a reciprocal relationship, and both are needed if prospective teachers are to help pupils in multiethnic classrooms deal with the persistent problems of everyday living.

The specialization area provides the teacher with essential instructional content. This content, in some cases, should reinforce the foundational studies of general education. Specializations in social studies and language arts are obvious areas where intensive study will provide a deeper understanding of other cultures and the contributions to civilization made by their members. Similar benefits can be derived from other areas of specialization. For example, a prospective teacher of multiethnic classes in music, art, and foreign languages has an obligation to become familiar with the contributions of various cultures and ethnic groups. Although the physical sciences, mathematics, and other disciplines may not deal *directly* with multicultural content, a prospective teacher must be familiar with contributions of ethnic minorities to the advancement of knowledge in these fields. Although teacher educators may not control either general education courses or areas of specialization, their contribution to

the preparation of multicultural teachers is vital, and a concentrated effort must be made to ensure faculty cooperation for realistic preparation.

PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION

It is through the professional education sequence that teachers of multicultural children will be trained to use the teaching strategies that are culturally and linguistically suited to their pupils, create and use appropriate instructional materials, and maintain routine classroom discipline while respecting each personality. The professional sequence should focus on content, methodology, and attitudes that will help prospective teachers to understand themselves, multicultural children and youth, and the dynamics of teaching and learning. Thus the professional sequence should contain the psychological, sociological, and skills components that are discussed in the following paragraphs.

Psychoeducational Component

It is obvious that an anxious, insecure teacher is incapable of fulfilling adequately the role of a professional teacher in a multicultural classroom. Competent teachers must be emotionally mature; they must understand their anxieties, insecurities, prejudices, attitudes toward authority, and defense mechanisms. Such knowledge is a prerequisite to understanding pupils and encouraging their growth toward self-understanding. Because teachers are the most important adult identification figures in a child's life, it is probably accurate to say that what a teacher *is* is more important than what a teacher *knows*. Thus one of the major goals of the psychoeducational component is to help prospective teachers discover and discuss unresolved feelings about themselves and their relations with those around them.

A second goal is to provide prospective teachers with information pertaining to the emotional and psychological development of children coming from diverse sociocultural backgrounds. Pupils come to school with personalities, goals, values, social habits, and attitudes formulated as a result of their own peculiar cultural experiences. Each pupil, regardless of his or her ethnic origin, is a unitary, integrating personality seeking to maintain equilibrium; a goal-seeking organism, pursuing purposes in order to satisfy needs; an active, inquisitive individual with a pattern and rhythm of growth peculiar to her or his individuality; and a learner whose educational prescription must provide

freedom to explore, to construct, to question, to differ, to make mistakes, and to develop creative contributions within the limits of democratic controls.

If pupils of diverse cultural and ethnic origins are to grow toward self-understanding, teachers must attempt to promote adjustment patterns that encourage feelings of security in each pupil, that are cognizant of changing needs and social conditions, and that provide an understanding of behavior standards for subgroups in which pupils must function.

Socioeducational component

The responsibility of a multicultural teacher education program to help prospective teachers develop understanding and respect for the cultures of other groups is a complex and demanding task. Curricular experiences should be designed to involve prospective teachers in an education process which will help them to:

—Understand the origin and history of the various social and ethnic groups,
—Conceptualize the impact of varied home, community, and other social forces upon the behavior of the pupil,
—Become acquainted with the specific mores, folkways, customs, and traditions of the various cultural and ethnic groups in America,
—Understand the current values and attitudes of ethnic groups in America,
—Acquire techniques for understanding family and community patterns of social relationships among racial and ethnic groups,
—Make a critical appraisal of the social institutions of groups, and determine the extent to which they can assist with solving problems of segregation, discrimination, prejudice and hostility,
—Recognize the fallacy of intellectual inferiority or superiority of a racial or ethnic group, and
—Overcome cultural and racial stereotypes.

Teachers in multicultural schools need to develop understanding of the culture of their pupils so that they can capitalize on its strengths and avoid competing against its mores and ideals. They should not degrade it, but rather seek to promote understanding. The family background and social class pressures, as well as the

individuality of the learner, must be taken into account. If teachers are to achieve this level of understanding they must participate in community activities, have contact with a wide range of community residents, and engage in other realistic field experiences of this type.

Teaching skills component

The development of teaching skills represents the third major goal in the preparation of teachers for culturally diverse classrooms. Traditional teacher education programs offer a wide variety of courses designed to promote skill in teaching middle-class pupils of the majority culture. This narrow approach to teacher preparation fails to take into account the need for special skills to enable teachers to work effectively with a diverse school population. Two examples will serve to illustrate this point.

First, it is important for a multicultural teacher education program to design curricular experiences that will help the prospective teacher cope with the language problems bilingual children experience. Many school districts have large numbers of parents who speak only a foreign language, and their children must exist in a bilingual environment. Prospective teachers must be taught not to penalize these children for being foreign language speakers; rather, they should be taught how to capitalize on this heritage. Teachers must also realize that just because pupils speak a different language does not necessarily mean that their language is deficient. Prospective teachers should also be required to become familiar with the languages used by the ethnic groups they will encounter.

Second, the prospective teachers must also engage in curricular experiences that would equip them with the appropriate strategies for dealing with the minority children's socially undesirable reaction to persistent feelings of inferiority. They must become familiar with specific techniques for dealing with such behaviors as timidity, bullying, awkwardness, delinquency, envy, domineering behavior, day-dreaming, perfectionism, self-effacement, annoying attention-getting devices, fear of attempting new activities, and pretended ill health. They must become aware that minority children will not exhibit any of these behavior traits consistently, and that often, the discovery of activities in which they can achieve, merit praise, and win recognition is likely to alleviate them markedly.

In view of this need for a broader range of teaching strategies to work effectively with diverse pupil groups, it would seem important for a multicultural teacher education program to focus specific attention on experiences which will enable teachers to:

—Select and use appropriate instruments of communication with individuals and groups. It is imperative for the teacher to understand the language variations of multiethnic learners.

—Use technological resources to promote the fulfillment of the many and varied needs of multiethnic learners.

—Use a variety of instructional procedures. Multiethnic students represent widely different capacities, abilities, and interests that cannot be satisfied through uniform methodology.

—Identify, select, and use a wide variety of instructional materials that are appropriate for the cultural groups involved in terms of interest, levels of complexity, maturity and experience of the students, and individual differences within the group.

—Understand and treat multicultural children as the individuals they are, each with his or her own particular potential and rate of growth, and each with her or his own background, problems, habits, interests, and curiosities. If the important democratic value of respect for personality is to be realized among multiethnic children and youth, the curriculum must reflect these differences among learners.

—Make systematic studies of ethnic learners to discover their differences. From these differences should emerge a flexible curriculum geared to the needs and potentialities of individuals.

—Plan for community involvement. It is essential for families of multiethnic children and youth to be involved in the planning and execution of meaningful multicultural experiences.

—Develop teaching strategies consistent with the psychological, sociological, and philosophical assumptions accepted by the prospective teacher. Unless teachers have a basic conceptual framework from which to develop strategies for teaching children in multicultural settings, their good intentions may come to naught.

The need for a concentrated effort to prepare teachers for multicultural classrooms is crucial. The conceptual framework

outlined in this section offers exciting possibilities for incorporating practices that address children and youth of diverse social and cultural backgrounds. The outline also allows for many of the changes suggested by Stone and De Nevi (1971), in terms of bringing into the schools new instructors, novel community-based instructional resources, new facilities and materials, and new content and methods that will increase the authenticity of the school's coverage of ethnic cultures. The conceptual framework is also consistent with practices of the Cooperative Urban Teacher Education program, which has demonstrated that imaginative changes in teacher education are imperative if a meaningful and dynamic multicultural teacher education program is to emerge (Clothier, 1972).

I should also emphasize that I agree with the philosophy of Grant (1975) that multicultural education is not a catchword for "minority," but rather encompasses all people of the United States, their racial and ethnic differences, their customs, their levels of income, their traditions and beliefs, their languages, and their religious beliefs. Educational institutions must begin to assume responsibility for seeing that teacher education programs reflect the cultural and ethnic pluralism of this nation through their staffing, materials, methods, strategies, resources, and participatory models and practices.

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Code-Switching, Intuitive Knowledge, and the Bilingual Classroom*

Adalberto Aguirre, Jr.

This paper discusses the role of language alternation, or code-switching, in the bilingual classroom as a learning and teaching strategy. Particular focus is on the conceptual complexity surrounding the definition of code-switching in the bilingual classroom, and on the association between code-switching and intuitive knowledge of bilingual behavior. The principal assertion in this paper is that a bilingual teacher's intuitive knowledge of bilingual behavior can be instrumental in his or her construction of a sociolinguistic profile for the student in the bilingual classroom.

Most explanations of social behavior by persons in everyday life are not the products of explicit mental models or coherent theoretical substructures, according to diSessa (1983). As much as one would like to believe that social explanation in everyday life is the product of a calculative and contrastive analysis, social explanation is primarily a cognitive process based on elements in commonsense observation. For example, persons often depend on feelings ("Something doesn't seem right . . . . It doesn't feel right") or perceptions ("It doesn't look right . . . Something looks out of place") to construct explanations that fit their observations. As organizing principles in the explanation of everyday life, elements in commonsense observation, such as feeling and perception, enable persons to gather their observations into meaningful categories.

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THE OBSERVATION OF ALTERNATION

A question teachers of bilingual children in bilingual classrooms often ask is, "What does it mean when bilingual children alternate languages in ongoing discourse?" The question is in response to the observation that bilingual children do alternate or switch their two languages in the same sentence or utterance. Secondly, the question is produced by interpreting the observation to mean that language alternation is meaningful to the bilingual speakers involved in the social interaction. There are at least two types of working explanations for the phenomenon one can construct: (1) language alternation in bilingual children's discourse demonstrates their speaking knowledge of two languages, and (2) language alternation in bilingual children's discourse indicates that the speakers possess a sociolinguistic competency that permits them to alternate languages in a meaningful and communicative manner (Aguirre, 1985).

Given that language alternation is a sociolinguistic feature in the discourse of bilingual speakers, how may teachers construct working explanations for language alternation that will enable them to understand what the alternation means, and what it communicates about a bilingual child's sociolinguistic behavior? My purpose in the following pages is to examine language alternation in bilingual speech and its utility to teachers of bilingual children in bilingual education classrooms. That is, this paper focuses on the use of language alternation, or code-switching, as a teaching and learning strategy in the bilingual classroom, and on the association of code-switching with a teacher's intuitive knowledge of bilingual behavior. Thus, I intend to demonstrate that intuitive knowledge of bilingual behavior is both appropriate and essential for evaluating the sociolinguistic events that produce questions about bilingual behavior that are often assumed to be unanswerable or unworkable.

CODE-SWITCHING

Code-switching is a term used to describe those speech situations in which (a) speakers alternate between two or more languages, varieties of language, or speech styles; (b) speakers alternate between two different language codes within the same discourse, which implies that the speakers are aware of the switch; or (c) speakers alternate between two different language systems because of the environment (for instance, the presence of

a speech partner with whom the speaker prefers to speak in the other language) or topic of discussion (Hymes, 1974; Lance, 1970; St. Clair & Valdés, 1980).

A general survey of the code-switching literature reveals that one can identify two major concerns. On the one hand, a focus on the social uses of code-switching has resulted in analyses of the rules for speaking, or communicative competence, for bilingual speakers (Denison, 1968; Lipski, 1980; Valdés, 1980). These rules for speaking are examined by observing the participation of bilingual speakers in social events that require linguistic interaction. By noting the association between rules for speaking and ongoing social interaction, the observer can outline the process by which speakers select the appropriate code (language), and can understand how code selection contributes to the maintenance of the social context. As a result, one can observe the contextualization of social interaction. For example, a social dimension such as *social distance* can affect code selection; the choice of Haitian French or Creole in Haiti marks role shifts within a social event.

Concern with the linguistic features of code-switching also has led researchers to examine those linguistic environments in which code-switching occurs (Pfaff, 1979; Sridhar & Sridhar, 1980; Valdés-Fallis, 1976). By uncovering linguistic regularity in the production of code-switching, studies of linguistic environment attempt to demonstrate that bilingual speakers possess subsets of grammatical knowledge that permit the ordered alternation of languages. For example, among English/Spanish bilingual Mexican-American speakers in California, adverbial constructions may be switched: "Vamos next week," but not as interrogatives, "When vamos?"; a switch may occur at a noun phrase only after a determiner: "Se lo di a mi grandfather," but not as, "Se lo di a my grandfather"; an adverb may be switched before an adjective: "Es very friendly," but not, "Es very amistoso" (Gumperz & Hernández-Chávez, 1970).

Code-switching is then an instrumental activity in constructing and maintaining bilingual social interaction, and it indicates the operation of an ordered linguistic process that facilitates bilingual communication. Code-switching is not random linguistic production, in the sense that it is only speech mixture, but rather is the product of ordered linguistic selection. It follows, then, that code-switching is not an indication that a bilingual speaker is linguistically incongruent with ongoing social interac-

tion; it is instead an active process of negotiation that ensures a high degree of linguistic and social congruence within a given context (Aguirre, 1978; Miller, 1984).

CODE-SWITCHING IN THE BILINGUAL CLASSROOM

Even though code-switching has attracted a considerable amount of sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic interest, its role in the bilingual classroom as a teaching and learning strategy has been subjected to only limited attention. Although teachers in bilingual classrooms readily admit the presence of code-switching in classroom discourse among bilingual children (Aguirre, 1984), researchers have been very cautious in describing the role of code-switching in bilingual classroom structure and activity. This caution may be due in part to a concern shared by researchers that code-switching should not be used as a language-assessment device that could result in a mismatch between bilingual discourse and bilingual behavior (see Hudelson, 1983 and Huerta-Macías, 1983 for interesting examples).

The study of code-switching as a classroom teaching and learning strategy has been plagued with problems that stem from the conceptual complexity of the description of what type of code-switching is most productive in the bilingual classroom. For instance, while Jacobson (1975, 1979) is a leading supporter of code-switching as a teaching strategy in the bilingual classroom, he is careful to point out that his concern is only with *intersentential* code-switching (that is, the alternation of both languages in separate and independent utterances that reinforce the sociolinguistic knowledge the speaker possesses for each language). According to Jacobson (1981), any use of intersentential code-switching in the bilingual classroom should be done with the following concerns in mind:

1. The extent to which the native language must be developed in order for the learner to succeed in learning a second language;
2. The extent to which the home language should be used in school in order to develop positive attitudes toward it;
3. The extent to which first language maintenance in the primary grades will not interfere with the transition to English in postprimary education;
4. The extent to which the use of both languages would lead to an understanding of the bilingual functioning of some sectors in our society; and

5. The extent to which school subjects could be learned through two language media.

In a similar, yet competing, viewpoint, González (1972) has argued against the use of code-switching in bilingual classrooms. Underlying González's viewpoint are the observations that:

1. Children can learn a second language while maintaining their first language, but allowing code-switching deprives the child of the opportunity to practice using the two languages as separate modes of communication;
2. Code-switching in the bilingual classroom encourages the student to use the stronger language (usually English) rather than attempting new linguistic expressions in the weaker language; and
3. The use of code-switching prevents the teacher from identifying language areas in need of remediation.

In a reformulated view that merges closely with Jacobson's stance, González & Maez (1980) argued that: "Code-switching of the intersentential type can and should be used in teaching, while intrasentential code-switching should be accepted (as should any variety of language the child brings with him) but should not be used by the teacher. In addition, the teacher should assure that when the child does engage in intrasentential code-switching, the word switched to English is in his repertoire" (p. 133). Code-switching then is regarded as a valuable tool in the bilingual classroom when it occurs in separate and independent linguistic events. In contrast, code-switching that occurs within the same linguistic event (intrasentential), while regarded as a sociolinguistic feature in bilingual speech, is viewed as an impediment to the development of independent bilingual language use. Thus the concern is not so much with the presence or occurrence of code-switching in the bilingual classroom as it is with the form it assumes.

While the preceding viewpoints are by no means exhaustive in describing the role of code-switching in the bilingual classroom, they are representative of the principal conceptual issues surrounding the use of code-switching as a teaching strategy. One must note that the presence of code-switching in the bilingual classroom is both obvious and unavoidable. Placing the pedagogical issues aside, teachers in bilingual classrooms encounter code-switching in their students' discourse at both the intrasentential and intersentential levels. It is necessary that teachers in these

situations regard code-switching as a communicative strategy. By doing so, teachers in bilingual education classrooms may be able to use their intuitive knowledge of bilingual behavior to construct a sociolinguistic profile of a bilingual student.

INTUITIVE KNOWLEDGE

As mentioned previously, social explanation in everyday life is based on elements in commonsense observation. As a cumulative strategy in the development of simple knowledge structures, principles of commonsense observation make it possible for persons to develop a base of intuitive knowledge that reflects their own life experiences. This base of intuitive knowledge is used to infuse order into the meaning of everyday life. For example, simple knowledge structures for global categories such as sex, class, or race enable persons to observe, in an ordered manner, the social behavior of persons possessing one or more of these global characteristics. The cumulative effect of these global characteristics results in the construction of structured relationships among global categories. The construction of structured relationships, in turn, facilitates the formulation of expectations for interpreting everyday life. Thus persons experience order in their everyday lives if people and events are experienced as expected (Aguirre, 1981; Boulding, 1981).

Secondly, this base of intuitive knowledge allows persons to observe and order their observations across a variety and number of social contexts. Within any one social context, people observe ongoing social activity both from a variety of perspectives, and one that is specific to their own interpretations of self in everyday life. It seems reasonable to state, then, that a person's explanation for his or her observations will exhibit varying degrees of understanding given the person's own interpretation of self. That is, the closer the approximation between an observation and a person's base of intuitive knowledge, the higher the degree of social understanding reflected in the interpretation of the ongoing social activity. Conversely, as approximation between an observation and intuitive knowledge decreases, the degree of social understanding decreases.

Although the notion of intuitive knowledge is at great variance with philosophical or phenomenological notions, it focuses on only one feature: understanding. Where an epistemologist may focus on intuitive knowledge as a mode of evidence, I am more concerned with the role intuitive knowledge plays in developing

levels of social understanding. Such a characterization of intuitive knowledge is also one that is limited to use in the bilingual classroom. Similar to the viewpoint expressed by Noddings and Shore (1984) regarding the general use of intuitive modes in education, this paper considers how intuitive knowledge may contribute to the teaching of bilingual children and how such teaching may enhance intuitive capacities.

A METATHEORETICAL APPROACH

We have already noted that bilingual speakers are able to alternate languages in a manner reflecting a process of ordered selection. Let us assume that this process of ordered selection is dependent on a bilingual speaker's base of intuitive knowledge for bilingual behavior. Let us further assume that this base of intuitive knowledge expands in correspondence with a bilingual speaker's ability to approach a state of balance for his or her language use. A prerequisite, however, for approaching a state of balance is active participation in bilingual contexts. Thus a bilingual speaker's base of intuitive knowledge for bilingual behavior will expand in correspondence with his or her degree of balance in language use and participation in bilingual contexts. As a result, simply speaking two languages is not sufficient to permit the development of a base of intuitive knowledge for bilingual behavior (see De Avila, 1987; Pfaff, 1987).

We must assume that teachers in bilingual classrooms are bilingual and proficient in the languages their students speak. For teachers in bilingual classrooms not to be bilingual would render both the classroom and its interactive behavior meaningless. Although the organizational features of the classroom would impose some order into classroom behavior, both student and teacher would be operating within contexts of ambiguous interpretation. In other words, in order to establish a relative degree of understanding for carrying out classroom lessons, there must be a high level of correspondence between a teacher's and a student's base of intuitive knowledge (for example, see Heath, 1985, and Rodríguez, 1985).

Assuming that all of the preceding assumptions are operative in the everyday life of the bilingual classroom, how, then, can a bilingual teacher use intuitive knowledge of bilingual behavior to enhance learning and teaching activities for bilingual children? The following observations are reflective, rather than inclusive, of what is possible.

First, the bilingual teacher in the bilingual classroom can listen to a student's code-switching in order to identify *what* is being switched and *how* it is being switched, such as word repetition across languages. If a teacher's intuitive knowledge tells him or her that the child possesses similar linguistic ability in each language, then the teacher may want to alternate languages with the student in order to build on sentence complexity and word power. In turn, the student's base of intuitive knowledge for bilingual behavior is enhanced. As a result, both teacher and student increase their levels of understanding regarding ongoing social activity.

Second, the bilingual teacher's intuitive knowledge may tell him or her that a bilingual student is mixing, rather than alternating, languages, in a manner that communicates confusion. For example, the language mixture might be incongruent with what is socially and linguistically possible within the context. The teacher can then use his or her own intuitive knowledge to interpret the observation in order to separate language confusion from language learning problems. The teacher can then employ code-switching as a strategy to teach the student how to transfer concepts, and their linguistic symbols, from one language to another (Tsang, 1983). The goal is to use code-switching to develop a student's linguistic knowledge for two separate symbols and their appropriate meanings.

Third, the bilingual teacher can employ intuitive knowledge of code-switching to develop criteria for separating meaningful from meaningless code-switching. That is, the bilingual teacher can distinguish those speakers whose code-switching is reflective of participation in bilingual contexts from those speakers who have learned how to code-switch as part of social activity, such as in language play as a process of group identity (see Gumperz & Hernández-Chávez, 1970). The former are usually proficient bilinguals, while the latter are limited in their use of both languages. The implication, of course, is that not all persons who code-switch are bilingual speakers. The teacher can develop sets of classroom lessons that are bilingual in goals and can encourage reinforcement outside of the classroom (Ornstein, 1982).

The preceding observations are only those associated with the use of intuitive knowledge for code-switching by bilingual teachers with bilingual students in bilingual classrooms. The attractiveness of the approach discussed in this paper is that it

takes into consideration the limited time available to teachers for making lengthy evaluations of students' language abilities and needs. Second, by using their own intuitive knowledge, teachers are in a better position to structure classroom behavior in correspondence with the span of bilingual abilities generated by students in the classroom. Third, this approach enables the bilingual teacher to construct a sociolinguistic profile for a bilingual student given the teacher's intuitive knowledge of social and linguistic features in bilingual behavior. Thus the product would be a sociolinguistic profile highlighting global, rather than particularistic, features in a student's bilingual behavior. Because the process of education is, in general, oriented toward students' global rather than particularistic learning features, such an approach is compatible with what is both possible and probable in the school classroom.

SUMMARY

The controversy will no doubt continue as to what role code-switching should play in the bilingual classroom. It is worth noting that regardless of the view one holds, code-switching is a reflection of sociolinguistic negotiation in everyday bilingual behavior. The presence of code-switching is simply a recognition of the fact that more than one language is capable of defining events and persons.

It is also worth noting that not all forms of code-switching are regarded as acceptable in the bilingual classroom. Intersentential code-switching is generally accepted as the most effective in the bilingual classroom because it provides for the development of language compartmentalization. That is, language alternation in bilingual classrooms must be meaningful in itself and not simply reflect a language choice. The alternation must communicate meaning and be linked to co-occurring features in the social context.

Finally, the primary obstacle to the metatheoretical approach outlined in this paper stems from one of the many dilemmas faced by bilingual education: many teachers in bilingual education classrooms are not proficient bilinguals, and many of those who are proficient bilinguals do not necessarily speak the same non-English language as their students speak (Aguirre, 1986). The bilingual student is at risk in these classroom situations because the teacher is unable to comprehend the manner in which the student is negotiating his or her social and

linguistic identity. A teacher's limited comprehension of bilingual behavior results in the identification of learning problems that are assumed to be reflective of language problems, but that are not reflective of a student's language learning needs. The unavoidable outcome is that classroom structure becomes a barrier to sociolinguistic interaction and exchange between teacher and student.

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Interactional Style of Teachers and Parents during Bilingual Instruction

Eugene E. García

Spanish English bilingual kindergarten teachers and parents serving as instructional aides in the same bilingual education classrooms served as subjects. Audio-video recordings of small-group instruction sessions of teachers and parents were subjected to a lesson discourse analysis. Of interest was the qualitative character of teacher/parent interaction with specific attention to linguistic and cognitive attributes. Results indicated that both teacher and parent discourse is highly "teacher" oriented, with both parents and teachers dominating lesson discourse and keeping children to the topic. Such a similarity between teachers and parents is discussed with regard to language development needs of language minority students in early childhood.

The study of language continues to unfold increasing complexities in theories of linguistics, cognition, and socialization. What was once a study of linguistic structure, for example, has become today an interactive study of linguistic, psychological, and social domains, each important in its own right, but together converging in broader attempts to construct and reconstruct the nature of language. These converging perspectives acknowledge the multifaceted nature of social interaction (García, 1983).

A primary issue in language teaching for ethnolinguistic children is understanding interaction. Children from different

linguistic cultures will use language in ways that reflect their different developmental environments (Hymes, 1974). For example, a child from a Mexican American or Native American family will not necessarily talk about the same things, or use language to accomplish the same functions as a child from an urban black or Anglo family. It is crucial that any language instruction strategy used should not penalize children for speaking the language of their environment. At the same time, it is also necessary to assess the differences between children's current language use and that which will be demanded by differing segments of the children's future societies.

Keeping in mind that language is a key requisite for educating children—for without language, education as we know it would not exist—it is important that we distinguish between the *form* of a child's language and the *function* served by that language. More than a decade ago, William Labov (1970) identified this duality in his research on "Black English," when he identified two aspects of the problem:

1. Structural conflicts of standard and nonstandard English: interference with learning ability stemming from a mismatch of linguistic structures.
2. Functional conflicts of standard and nonstandard English: interference with the desire to learn standard English stemming from a mismatch in the functions that standard and nonstandard English perform in a given culture. (p. 6)

Labov identified numerous functional conflicts between the nonstandard English of the urban black children he studied and the standard English demanded by the school. For example, Labov found that many of the children he studied were unwilling to answer questions to which the questioner obviously knew the answer. Thus an adult, holding up a picture of a helicopter and saying to a child, "What's this?" was likely to get either no answer or the response, "I don't know." It is impossible to say in this situation whether the child really doesn't know or is reasoning that the question is too easy: "Anybody knows what that is. There must be some catch to this. I will protect myself by not answering until I know more about what's going on here." This protection strategy is frequently employed by urban black children, and yet their silences or "don't know" answers are interpreted as evidence of cognitive or language delay. Geneshi (1981), in a study of bilingual Mexican-American children in

California, gave further weight to Labov's example. She pointed out that the children in her study switched languages (from English to Spanish or vice-versa) depending on their impressions of the listener's strongest language. She reported that what seemed at first glance a disturbed language-switching situation became a systematic interactional discourse strategy that maximized communication.

The expansion of language theory to incorporate an interest in both language form and function is not a recent development. In 1970, Cazden wrote:

> Study of the acquisition of language has been based on the assumption that what had to be described and explained was the acquisition of a repertoire of responses (in the terminology of behaviorism) or the acquisition of a finite set of rules for constructing utterances (in the terminology of developmental psycholinguistics). On this assumption, the school language problems of lower-class children can have two explanations: either they have acquired less language than middle-class children, or they have acquired a different language. The less-language explanation has been given various names—*cultural deprivation, deficit hypothesis, vacuum ideology*—all with the same connotation of a nonverbal child somehow emptier of language than his more-socially-fortunate age mates. The different-language explanation is forcefully argued by William Stewart and Joan Baratz. It states that all children acquire language but that many children—especially lower-class black children—acquire a dialect of English so different in structural (grammatical) features that communication in school, both oral and written, is seriously impaired by that fact alone. . . . Both the less-language and different-language views of child language are inadequate on two counts. First, they speak only of patterns of structural forms and ignore patterns of use in actual speech events. Second, they speak as if the child learns only one way to speak, which is reflected in the same fashion and to the same extent at all times. On both theoretical and practical grounds, we can no longer accept such limitations. (pp. 81-82, 83)

What Cazden was calling for is an important view of language, a focus on how the child meets the demands of situations in which language is used.

Moreover, within the last few years, research in language acquisition has shifted from the study of one native language (Brown, 1973; González, 1970) to the comparative study of children from diverse linguistic societies (Bowerman, 1975; Braine, 1976; Durán, 1981). The study reported herein deals with young children in classroom situations in which their native language, Spanish, and second language, English, are used as media of instruction by their parents (serving as teachers' aides) and the regular classroom teacher.

THE PROBLEM

This study provides an analysis of a set of audio-video-recorded, teacher-child and mother-child interactions that were studied to determine the instructional characteristics of the interactions. Specifically, I sought to identify which aspects of these interactions were similar to previous conceptual treatments of teacher-student interactions during formal instruction time (lessons) at microinteractional levels (Mehan, 1979). This type of analysis is based on the notion that teaching is a fundamental act of discourse (García & Carrasco, 1981).

With respect to the empirical determination of whether mothers engage in teaching situations, two preinvestigatory considerations strongly suggested an affirmative response. First, all the mothers and children in this study were part of the bilingual/bicultural effort, which was voluntary in nature. Therefore, it was clear that mothers were very much interested in their children learning both languages. Second, all mothers served as instructors on a cooperative basis. Their duties included both curriculum development and implementation. Therefore, although professional guidance was provided, all mothers served essentially as teachers in the school. These preconditions, which indicate that the mothers were involved in an instructional process during the mother-child interactions, form the data for the study.

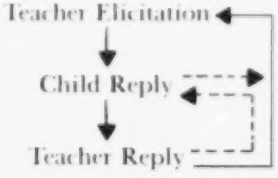
In performing an empirical analysis of mothers serving as instructors, the Mehan interactional analysis model for analyzing the sequential organization of speech acts within classroom lessons was used. This model concentrates on the sequential characteristics of teacher initiations, followed by student responses and teacher evaluations. This form of interaction analysis takes into consideration the teacher and student utterances, topic selection, and conversational management in turn taking. I hypothesized that the original Mehan model of instructional interaction sequencing would assist in describing the similarities and differences for the present mother-student and teacher-student interactions. However, some modification of the Mehan model was necessary to accommodate the conversational data I actually encountered (see Table 1).

As indicated earlier, the present analysis is based on results reported by Mehan (1979) regarding elementary teaching styles. Specifically, Mehan found that elementary teachers when "giving a lesson" tend to:

1. Begin a topic-oriented instructional exchange between themselves and their students by an elicitation statement (for example, "What color is this block?"). Mehan had divided these elicitation statements into four categories that depended on the cognitive complexity of the intended response: (1) choice, (2) product, (3) process, and (4) meta-process. (See Table 1 for specific definitial characteristics.) At times, teachers also use directives ("point to the red block") or informatives ("this is a block") in their lessons. Directives and informatives are used less often and are not intended to elicit a student response, and
2. Terminate topic-oriented instructional exchanges between themselves and their students with an evaluation statement, such as, "That was excellent." Table 1 presents specific categories of such teacher replies.

How do students perform during their lessons? In response to the topic-oriented teacher elicitations, students tend most often to reply in accordance with the teacher's elicitation. However, they may also: (1) not reply, (2) attempt to change the topic (and therefore bid to control the discourse topic), or (3) react in a negative manner, repeat the previous teacher statement, or indicate nonunderstanding of the teacher statement. Table 1 details some possible replies.

Mehan describes the "total" lesson discourse with the following interaction model.



Most formal lessons follow the solid lines of the diagrammed model: teacher elicits, students reply, and teacher replies. However, the dotted lines indicate that at times the instruction is cut short when the teacher does not reply, as illustrated below.

"What color is this?"	Teacher Elicitation
"Red."	Child's Reply

Table 1

Definition of interactional characteristics for the modified Mehan system

I. Teacher Mother Initiations
  A. Elicitations
    1. Choice: An elicitation act in which the initiator provides responses in elicitation itself. ("Is it blue or green?")
    2. Product: An elicitation act to which the respondent is to provide factual response. ("What is this?")
    3. Process: An elicitation act which asks the respondent for opinions and interpretations. ("What's he doing?")
    4. Meta-process: An elicitation act which asks the respondent to be reflective on the process of reasoning itself. ("Why does he?")
  B. Directives: These are preparatory exchanges designed to have respondents take specific actions. ("Look here.")
  C. Informatives: Acts that pass on information, facts, opinions, or ideas. ("This girl's dress is blue.")

II. Child Reply
  A. No reply: Child does not answer initiation acts, silence for a 2-second period.
  B. Topic-relevant reply
    1. Choice: Choice response relevant to the initiator's topic. ("blue")
    2. Product: Product response relevant to the initiator's topic. ("cat")
    3. Process: Process response relevant to the initiator's topic. ("playing with a dog.")
    4. Meta-process: Meta-process response relevant to the initiator's topic. ("'Cause he's not scared.")
    (Responses were also scored: 1 if irrelevant to initiator's topic, and 2 if relevant to the initiator's previous topic.)
  C. Bid: These constitute statements which attempt to gain the floor, that is, change the topic. These can be considered as initiation by the child. ("What is this?")
  D. Reaction: Negative acts taken in response to a directive. ("I don't want to.")
  E. Repetition: Child repeats the previous mother statement: (1) partially, (2) exactly, (3) expanded.
  F. Don't understand: Child indicates he did not understand initiator. ("What?")

III. Teacher Mother Reply
  A. Repetition: Mother repeats previous child utterance: (1) partially, (2) exactly, (3) expanded.
  B. Evaluation: Mother (1) accepts (positive) or (2) rejects (negative) previous child utterance. ("O.K., that's good"; "not that way.")
  C. Prompts: Statements given in response to incorrect, incomplete or misunderstood replies. ("There are three.")
  D. Child Topic Initiator: Initiating statements in response to initiations by the child. (These were earlier designated as Child Bids.) ("There are two tigers.")

At other times the exchange may be extended:

"What color is this?"	Teacher Elicitation
"I think it is red."	Child Reply
"That's right."	Teacher Reply
"Do you like red?"	Child Reply
"I love red."	Teacher Reply

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Using the above analytical scheme, the present analysis was to assess the instructional style of the teachers and parents serving as teachers. Specifically, the following questions were asked:

1. What type of instructional style does the parent use when formally fulfilling the role of classroom instructor?
2. Does the parents' instructional style differ from that reported for teachers with the same student (kindergarten) population?
3. Does the parents' instructional style differ from that of the "regular" teacher in the same classroom?

SELECTION OF PARTICIPANTS

To participate in the study, children and mothers were selected from bilingual education kindergarten classrooms at three schools in the Phoenix Elementary School District. Specific selection of children and mothers who would participate in the study was dependent on the availability of a parent or grandparent to serve as a parent teacher for at least two afternoons a week, and the willingness of the parent or grandparent to serve as a parent/teacher.

When these conditions were met, student and parent participants were selected randomly. A minimum of 6 parents and a maximum of 10 parents per classroom were selected as participants.

METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION

Because it was not practical to audio-video record all parent/teachers, two were selected from each classroom. These were selected randomly from a list of parent teachers provided by the teacher in each classroom. In addition, each teacher was also audio-video recorded for purposes of teaching style analysis. The teachers and parents selected for observation were scheduled for

audio-video tape recordings during small-group lessons once every two weeks for a total period of 12 weeks.

Both teachers and parents were recorded while giving two types of lesson during each day they were observed: story-telling lessons and skill-development lessons. Story-telling lessons centered on the sharing of a written or oral story. Lessons included fictionalized material such as "Los Tres Osos," Dr. Suess, and the like, and nonfiction material, such as "Cinco de Mayo," George Washington's biography, and other content material. Story-telling lessons were characterized by their informality. Skill development lessons were more organized around a specific academic skill (color identification, phonic discrimination of sounds, and the like). Skill-oriented lessons were more formal than the story-telling sessions.

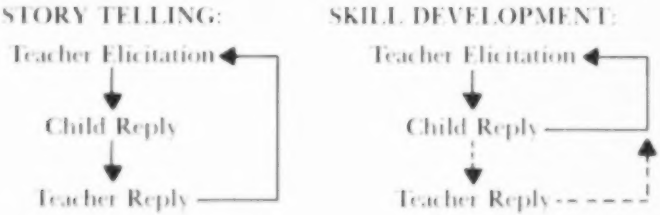
The two categories of lessons were derived from a one-month, preinvestigatory observation period in the classrooms. Observers were in the classroom two to three hours, three days per week, in an attempt to isolate discourse strategies used by children and adults. Notes from these observations led us to distinguish between the two types of lessons identified above.

RESULTS

Teaching Style Analysis Results: Teachers

Table 2 presents the percentages of teacher and parent/grandparent initiations, child replies, and teacher and parent/grandparent replies during audio-video recorded lessons for randomly selected teachers and parents. These data are presented by language (Spanish and English) and by lesson function (story telling or specific skill development).

Teacher initiation statements tended to be dominated by product-type elicitations, as well as process-type elicitations, with a smaller percentage of directives and informatives in both languages, especially during story-telling lessons. Child replies during these interactions were dominated by child product and process replies to teacher initiations. Teacher replies consisted primarily of repetitions and evaluative remarks, the latter almost always positive. The teacher-student lesson discourse style might best be diagrammed as follows, with a heavy weight on product and process type interaction:



However, it is important to note that teacher initiations were of the process type (as were child replies) some 25 to 40 percent of the time during story telling. This high level of process interaction was not observed during specific skill-development lessons. Moreover, the interactions for story-telling lessons were predominantly in English, while specific skill-development lessons were in Spanish. These teachers conformed to Mehan's (1979) teacher instructional patterns.

Table 2

Percentage of teacher and parent/grandparent initiation, child reply, and teacher and parent/grandparent reply during audio-video recorded lessons by language (Spanish or English) and lesson function (story telling or specific skill development)

Teacher Parent Initiation	Choice		Product		Process		Meta-Process		Directives		Informatives		Total	
	S	E	S	E	S	E	S	E	S	E	S	E	S	E
Teacher-Story	0	2	27	30	20	38	2	4	10	18	16	8	30	70
Teacher-Skill	19	10	45	18	10	3	0	0	20	44	11	25	76	24
Parent-Story	15	1	41	3	1	16	1	0	22	27	7	20	40	60
Parent-Skill	11	0	16	0	4	0	0	0	45	0	24	0	100	0

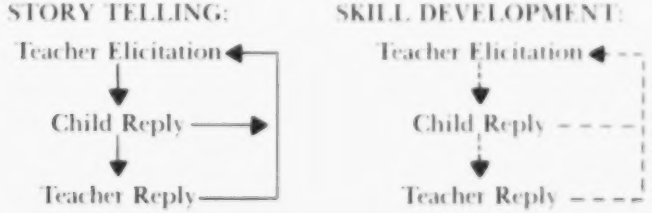
Child Reply	Choice		Product		Process		Meta-Process		Directives		Informatives		Total	
	S	E	S	E	S	E	S	E	S	E	S	E	S	E
Teacher-Story	5	5	32	34	33	34	4	6	12	16	14	5	35	65
Teacher-Skill	13	7	38	36	5	7	0	0	28	42	16	4	60	40
Parent-Story	11	12	37	21	15	10	2	0	30	53	5	27	56	44
Parent-Skill	0	0	32	50	8	0	0	0	37	27	8	23	91	9

Teacher Parent Reply	Repetition						Evaluation				Child Topic					
	S			E			S		E		Prompt		Initiation		Total	
	1	2	3	1	2	3	P	N	P	N	S	E	S	E	S	E
Teacher-Story	8	23	6	7	38	6	25	4	17	0	14	17	10	15	44	86
Teacher-Skill	7	12	10	5	42	0	35	3	7	9	28	5	4	33	66	34
Parent-Story	0	33	13	0	35	5	0	7	10	15	22	0	25	35	64	36
Parent-Skill	0	20	2	0	75	0	20	11	25	0	4	0	23	0	92	8

Teaching Style Analysis Results: Parents

Initiations by parent/grandparent during specific skill-development lessons tended to be dominated by directives and informatives. For parent/grandparents, 80 percent of initiations were either directives or informatives during these lessons. These two categories of initiations do not encourage participation by the child in the lesson. However, during story-telling lessons, product (36 to 41 percent) and process (15 to 16 percent) initiations were evident. In addition, story telling initiations were nearly equally distributed between Spanish and English; specific skill-development initiations were all in Spanish.

Child replies for parent/grandparent-led lessons were much like those observed for teacher-led lessons. However, parent replies were dominated more by bids, repetitions, and evaluations. Also, parent interactions had a higher relative percentage of child topic initiation than did teachers' interactions. Therefore, parents tended to "follow" the child's topic-change attempts more often than did the teachers. As an illustration, the following lesson discourse diagram is meant to describe the parent teaching style:



The parents' story telling style was much like that of teachers. However, the skill-development style shown above (by using dotted indicator lines) emphasizes that this style was dominated by initiations. That is, because the teaching discourse was dominated by directives and informatives a majority of the time, the child was not often formally requested to become a participant in the lesson.

SUMMARY

Teachers tended to conform to Mehan's (1979) instructional interaction strategies. Parents were much like teachers during

story telling but during skill-development lessons did not elicit child participation. However, when teachers and parents elicited participation, they did so with product and process type statements during story telling lessons and product type statements during specific skill development lessons.

Child replies for both teacher and parent/grandparent lessons were characterized by a high percentage of appropriate child replies. The occurrence of appropriate child replies was expected. The occurrence of child bids during parent/grandparent skill development lessons, however, continues to indicate the child's inattentiveness or unwillingness to "hold" to the lesson topic.

Teacher and parent/grandparent replies were quite similar. They were dominated by repetitions and evaluations. However, parents tended to follow children's topic change bids more often than teachers did. This finding is particularly interesting because it suggests that children were more likely to gain control of the lesson with parents than with teachers. Although instructors should remain "in control," they should not be inflexible. Parents may have been more flexible in these cases.

CONCLUSION

The study reported herein examined bilingual instructor-student interaction under conditions in which both parents and teachers served as instructors. Previous research with ethnolinguistic students has suggested a potential mismatch between the culture of the home and that of the school (Ramírez & Castañeda, 1974). Similarly, previous research has suggested potential discrepancies in specific styles of interaction (Laosa, 1983; Zentella, 1981). Results of the present study extend this previous work.

The present study's analysis of instructional styles for parents and teachers indicated that:

1. Teachers tended to provide an instructional style often reported in the literature: they elicited student responses, evaluated those responses within identifiably linked lesson topics, and tended to hold students to the topic.
2. Parents' instructional style was much like that of the teachers. However, parents tended to dominate instructional discourse and did not elicit child participation as often as did teachers. Parents/grandparents were more flexible in allowing student-oriented topic shifts than teachers.

Teachers fulfilled the general expectation Mehan (1979) reported. However, they did not invite instructional interaction in other than the most communicatively simple mode, inviting student participation mostly with product or choice elicitations. This type of elicitation style may be particularly problematic for bilingual students, who may not be challenged by this style of instructional discourse either to use their native language or to express more complex language functions. Nor may they acquire these complex functions because of the failure of instructors to provide the opportunity for their use. It is possible that teachers (and maybe parents) perceive the bilingual repertoire of the child as a debilitating characteristic and act to simplify instructional interaction. Of course, this is but one of several possible explanations of the phenomenon. Independent of its causal links to a number of potential variables, the occurrence of a noninviting instructional style is well-documented in the study. Future work should attempt to extrapolate this style's potential negative or positive relationship to the development of communicative competence and academic achievement.

The mother-child interaction data suggest that mothers tend to be less inviting of students' interaction at the outset of an instructional segment, but much more inviting of a student's efforts to change topics once the instructional interaction is set in motion. The first finding can be related to Laosa's (1983) work with Hispanic mothers. Laosa suggested that such differences in discourse strategies between mother and children are a function of schooling. He studied Hispanic mothers from several ethnic groups and socioeconomic strata, and reported that the mother's level of schooling was the primary factor related to mother-child discourse style. Specifically, he reported that the more years the mother remained in school, the more that mother's interaction with her preschool child resembled teacher-student interaction. This style is much like the English style reported by García and Carrasco (1981) for bilingual Spanish-English mother-child interaction and the style reported herein for teachers.

The present study, therefore, confirms previous work related to the potential gap between home and school culture. It does so by a microanalysis of instructional style of parents and teachers. The study also extends the previous work. In particular, parent and teacher lesson interaction with students was not found to differ under non-skill-building contexts. In addition, parents were much more willing to enhance interaction by responding to

students' desires to change from those specific topics chosen by the parents. Teachers, on the other hand, were much more rigid in holding students to the topic.

Further research of this type would do much either to delineate the particular components of the home versus school culture issue or disconfirm its importance in instructional interaction. Such research is of particular significance to the ethnolinguistic bilingual student, whose academic future seems critically related to the nature and success of instructional communication.

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A Study of the Training Needs in Preservice and Inservice Bilingual Education

William L. Johnson, Billy E. Askins,
Leslie Huling-Austin, and John Robinson

Over the past several years, there has been a continuing interest in preservice and inservice education, especially in bilingual programs. However, what are the exact priorities in bilingual preservice and inservice education? For American education overall, student achievement has clearly surfaced as the single most important outcome of schooling, and it is to that product end that teacher behavior has been directed. School districts themselves have responded to these educational pressures by calling for educational accountability. In equipping bilingual education personnel to meet these expectations, preservice and inservice education has become of even greater importance in the 1980s. The purpose of our article is three-fold. First, we examine the trends in preservice and inservice training over the past several years. Second, we trace the development of a bilingual preservice and inservice diagnostic instrument designed for school districts to use in assessing the training needs of their bilingual education personnel. Last, we report the findings of our recent study in West Texas and Eastern New Mexico in which we examined the training needs of bilingual education personnel.

The role of the teacher is complex and demanding. If teachers are to be effective, they are entitled to and can benefit from high-quality teacher preparation that begins with preservice education

and continues through induction (the first years of teaching) and inservice. The same is true for bilingual education teachers who have all of the duties of regular teachers plus some very specialized additional responsibilities. Bilingual education teachers must not only be strong educators, but must also be bilingual, bicultural, and specially trained in instructing children with limited English proficiency. With all of the additional demands placed on bilingual teachers, the need for strong teacher education programs tailored to the specific needs becomes crucial.

The purpose of this article is to discuss briefly the development of a bilingual diagnostic instrument designed to assess the training needs of bilingual teacher staffs, and to report what a sample of bilingual education personnel indicated to be their current inservice needs. However, before doing this, it will be helpful to consider the current status of bilingual teacher education and to examine the content and goals of the existing teacher education programs for preparing and assisting bilingual teachers.

CURRENT STATUS OF BILINGUAL TEACHER EDUCATION

Our society and our world are not becoming more homogeneous. If anything, both are more linguistically and culturally pluralistic now than ever before, according to Washburn (1982). As a result of this situation, both the need for and the presence of bilingual education programs continue to increase. In a recent national survey, 47 states reported that they provide some form of bilingual education in at least one school district. Eighteen states reported that they have certification requirements for bilingual education teachers, although 33 reported that they had none. Three states reported that certified bilingual education teachers were paid additional salary increments, whereas 43 states indicated they had no such provision. Thirty-six state departments of education indicated that institutions of higher education in their states offered teacher training programs in bilingual education (Nickel, 1982).

According to Washburn (1982), bilingual-bicultural programs are offered by institutions of higher education in 33 states, the District of Columbia, Guam, and the Virgin Islands. California had 50 schools with such programs; Texas was next with 24, followed by New York (22), Illinois (14), and Pennsylvania (11). A total of 226 bilingual-bicultural programs serving a total of 43,378 students were identified. The average program is seven years old and serves 228 students.

Despite what may appear to be a great deal of activity, there still exists a serious shortage of qualified bilingual education teachers. According to a recent U.S. Department of Education report (Forum, 1983), education schools annually graduate only 1,900 teachers qualified to instruct limited-English-proficient students. At the same time, there is documented unmet demand for as many as 55,000 such teachers. In another national survey of the 50 state departments of education regarding bilingual education (Nickel, 1982), only two states reported that the supply of bilingual education teachers was adequate; 40 described the supply as inadequate.

Numerous school districts face critical shortages of bilingual teachers. For example, the Dallas Independent School District reported a shortage of 300 qualified bilingual education teachers, while Los Angeles had openings for up to 1,000 bilingual education teachers in recent years. Many districts facing such shortages are undertaking elaborate measures to recruit and retain competent bilingual teachers. For example, the Houston Independent School District, which faced the problem of a 45 percent turnover rate among bilingual education teachers (Walker de Felix, 1981), worked out a program with the University of Houston in which teachers received training leading to a master's degree with emphasis in bilingual education, and for which the district pays for tuition, fees and books. In return, the teachers agree to teach bilingual education classes in the district for two years following completion of their degrees. In addition, district teachers who retrain in bilingual education qualify for additional salary supplements through the Second Mile Plan, a program to compensate teachers for working in areas where extra effort is required.

PROGRAM CONTENT IN BILINGUAL TEACHER EDUCATION

From a survey of the current literature, there seems to be a consensus that high-quality bilingual teacher education programs should address four areas: (1) preparation in education and teaching, (2) the development of bilingualism among teachers, (3) training in special techniques for teaching children with limited English proficiency, and (4) the development of a sense of biculturalism and an appreciation for cultural diversity.

The ambitious goals of bilingual teacher education provide a challenge to balance the areas of need in designing a comprehensive program for bilingual education teachers. From the 226

bilingual bicultural programs identified by Washburn (1982) in a survey of 3,038 postsecondary institutions in the nation, a total of 4,297 courses that focus on 42 ethnic groups were reported. Forty different languages were taught. In addition, 184 of the schools (81.4 percent) offered a total of 1,210 general or theoretical courses that provide conceptual orientations to bilingual bicultural education. One hundred eighty schools (79.7 percent) offered a total of 864 courses dealing with methods or materials for bilingual/bicultural education. For practical experience, 142 schools (62.8 percent) offered student teaching, 138 (61.1 percent) offered practicum, and 88 (38.9 percent) offered internships in bilingual settings. The overwhelming majority of the bilingual bicultural programs (80.1 percent) were focused on the Spanish language. Similarly, the study of Hispanic cultures also predominated; of the 209 schools that offer courses on the experiences of specific cultural and ethnic groups in the United States, 116 (55.5 percent) offered a total of 1,126 courses (26.8 percent of all such courses offered) on Mexican Americans.

Identification of the numbers and types of courses that constitute bilingual/bicultural programs is informative, but the content being taught in this wide array of course offerings remains a key issue. It is difficult to get a clear sense of this content from the literature, but a few sources offer insight into what they believe to be the goals of teacher education programs for bilingual teachers.

Casso and Gonzales (1974) wrote that bilingual education teachers should:

> believe that cultural diversity is a worthy goal; respect individual children and the culture they take to school; be assured that the culture children take to school is worth preserving and enriching; be aware that cultural and linguistic differences are obvious individual differences; be committed to promoting children's self-image; develop a positive self-concept of the individual's capacity to contribute to a bilingual bicultural program; be willing to learn more about bilingual bicultural education; have flexibility in human relations; possess the ability to share ideas; and inspire a confidence in children and their capacity.

Anderson (1981) focused on the bicultural aspects of training teachers to be bilingual/bicultural and summarized the qualities needed:

1) Having an understanding of another culture, that is, possession of factual information about the second culture,
2) Possessing empathy for the second culture,
3) Having experience working within a second cultural setting,

4) Displaying a positive attitude of acceptance, respect, and appreciation for the other culture,
5) Possessing conviction or recognition as to the legitimacy of the second culture,
6) Having the skill to be a cross-cultural interpreter who can minimize the inevitable conflicts between a dominant and a subordinate culture, and
7) Mastery of special methodologies based on the unique learning styles of the students of the other culture.

THE INSERVICE PLANNING SURVEY

The sheer number of qualities and competencies that bilingual bicultural teachers should possess is overwhelming, especially when one begins to identify the training needs of teachers involved. One such attempt at identifying these training needs was the development of a questionnaire, described in the following section, that focused on the inservice needs of teachers in six general areas: curriculum and instruction; evaluation techniques; human skills; staff organization; language, linguistics, and content; and culture. These six areas were selected because they span a wide array of competencies required of the effective bilingual/bicultural teacher.

When we began the task of identifying the training needs of bilingual personnel, our intent was to design a diagnostic instrument that school district officials could use to identify the specific training needs of their bilingual teachers.

The construction and administration of the instrument involved the following steps: (1) development of a pool of subscaled questions, (2) development of questionnaire forms and a pool of instrument questions, (3) selection of bilingual education personnel to respond to the scale, (4) administration of the scale, (5) development of computer programs for instrument scoring and classification procedures, and (6) reliability and validity assessments of the instrument.

Development of Initial Pool of Items

The questions were written using the standard domain-sampling model supported by Nunnally (1967) and Cronbach (1970). Initial questions addressing the six areas were written, scrutinized, and studied. Next, the pool of items was expanded. Finally, the questions were rewritten and revised. These final

revisions produced the pool of items contained in the bilingual instrument.

A questionnaire form employing a Likert format was developed for the pool of items. Lemon (1973) has stated that much of the experimental research pertaining to attitude change involves measuring attitudes by some simple, easily administered instrument, usually a rating-scale format, and then attributing changes or differences in the ratings to the experimental manipulations. In this context, the Likert scale of summative ratings is the most widely used attitude measure in current research. Gronlund (1976) stated that Likert's approach to attitude scaling was less time consuming in development than earlier methods such as Thurston's and Remmers'. Borg and Gall (1971) identified the Likert technique as the easiest method presently available for developing scales needed in attitude research.

McGinnies (1970) clarified the procedures involved in constructing a Likert scale. The first step involves the writing of a number of statements dealing with the topic under investigation. Respondents then indicate their reaction to each question on an interval scale. Severy (1973) added that it is assumed when a Likert scale is developed that all written questions reflect the same attitudinal dimensions. Advantages of the Likert scale are: (1) that construction is less time consuming and easier than are other scaling techniques, and (2) that fewer items are required to obtain higher correlation coefficients (Ahmann & Glock, 1975; Borg & Gall, 1974; Gronlund, 1976; Lemon, 1973; Shaw & Wright, 1967).

Shaw and Wright (1967) indicated that items should be written in simple and clear language, should contain a single idea, and should be unambiguous. Borg and Gall (1974) noted that an instrument dealing with attitudes would generally be constructed as an attitude scale and should include at least ten items to obtain a valid picture of the attitude concerned. Little and Hill (1967) investigated the predictive efficiency of four frequently used attitude measurement techniques in terms of predicting indices of voter behavior. The Thurston, Guttman, Likert, and semantic differential scales were compared. In Little and Hill's study, the Likert scale was superior to all other scales in predictive validity. Their evidence suggested that in cases in which the Likert and Thurston scales were of equal length, the Likert scale exhibited higher reliability.

A Likert discrepancy model was chosen because of its applicability in general or first-time assessment trials (Witkin, 1977). Discrepancy as defined by Tyler (1949) is understood to mean a difference between some standard of value and an actual status. Sarthory (1977) has defined a need as a quantifiable gap in attitude, achievement, or performance between the ideal and the real.

Kaufman (1972) and Southard (1974) have identified the four specific components in a discrepancy needs-assessment procedure: (1) determine desired conditions, (2) determine existing conditions, (3) analyze discrepancies between the actual and desired conditions, and (4) assign priorities to the discrepancies. These discrepancies constitute indices of need.

Within a discrepancy format, respondents rate specific statements on two 5-point quasi-Likert scales; one that concerns their perception of the degree to which a situation actually exists, and another that concerns their perception of the extent to which the situation is desired to exist. The discrepancy between the two scale values for a specific question is referred to as the need index.

The discrepancy format response mode included the following two-column response categories: (a) *competence*, consisting of the following scale: (1) no knowledge of, (2) knowledge of, (3) work with, (4) extensive work with, (5) expertise in, and (b) *training*, consisting of the following scale: (1) desire no training, skill unrelated, (2) desire no training, competency high, (3) desire awareness session, (4) desire training, and (5) desire further training. The competency column is the actual status of the skill or attitude whereas the training column is the desired status. The competency choices are placed to the left of the survey questions while the training choices are placed to the right. The respondent rates himself or herself in terms of present competency and desired training. Jenkins and Taber (1977) found that in an agree-disagree context the number of response categories about five did not, in any situation, yield a significant increase in Likert discriminability.

In recent years, a great deal of research has been done to establish the fact that response sets exist in questionnaire responses (Hand, 1964; Hand & Brazzell, 1965; Rosenwald, 1961; Ruebush, 1963). Kerlinger (1973) has added, however, that he believes response sets are only a mild threat to valid measurement, and that their importance has been overestimated. The available evidence, he asserts, does not justify the strong negative assertions made by response-set enthusiasts. Because of this, we

did not randomly assign questions to the instrument. However, specific questions that assessed curriculum and instruction, human skills, staff organization, evaluation techniques, culture, or language, linguistics, and content were in no way identified in the survey instrument itself. Furthermore, the questions were all worded in a positive sense without reversing question polarity.

It was our intent to limit the length and complexity of the instrument so that 90 percent of the participants could complete the survey in less than 30 minutes (Cronbach, 1970).

Development of the Instrument Form

An introductory paragraph in the questionnaire explained the purpose of the instrument distribution. It stated that district officials were gathering information pertaining to the teachers' knowledge of various skills and their desire for training. Immediately following were directions pertaining to the completion of the questionnaire and definitions of the terms used.

Selection of Respondents and Scoring Procedures

All respondents were bilingual education personnel from a New Mexico school district and all Texas school districts served by the Education Service Center, Region XVII. The total sample size was 200. This number was arrived at by having at least five times as many participants as instrument questions (Lemke & Wiersma, 1976; Nunnally, 1970).

The questionnaire was scored by calculating a correlated *t* test score as the need index. The literature of statistical procedures is replete with descriptions of and deprivations for this procedure (Hicks, 1973; Hinkle & Wiersma, 1979; Kerlinger, 1973; Kirk, 1968).

Analysis of the Instrument Itself

As an *a posteriori* procedure, a construct validity was examined through a factor analysis of the diagnostic instrument (Spanier, 1976). The construct validity of a test is the extent to which the test may be said to measure a theoretical construct or trait (Anastasi, 1976). Essential to the notion of construct validity is the internal consistency of the items (Nunnally, 1967). Of particular relevance to construct validity is factor analysis. Lemke & Wiersma (1976) stated that factor analysis is in fact a method for establishing construct validity. Essentially, factor analysis is the refined technique for analyzing the interrelationships of

behavioral data, simplifying the description of data by reducing the number of necessary variables or dimensions (Anastasi, 1976; Kim & Mueller, 1978). The factoring method used was PA2 (principal factoring using iteration) with the varimax criterion specified as the method of orthogonal rotation (Nie, Hull, Jenkins, Steinbrenner, & Brent, 1975). Three present-status scales (PRE) and three desired status scales (DES) emerged. The PRE and DES factors were paired and common questions were extracted. This procedure reduced the common factors to two.

We found that curriculum and instruction, human skills, and staff organization were subsumed under one factor. Evaluation techniques, culture and language, linguistics, and content were subsumed under a second factor. The correlation of the two factors was 0.352. Higher-order factoring was not performed.

FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

Two hundred bilingual personnel rated the 40 questions on two five-point quasi-Likert scales: *Competence* and *Training*. The competency column is the "actual status" while the training column is the "desired status."

When the data were compiled, tabulations of the teachers' responses were computer scored, using a correlated t test. This process established a need index based on the number of standard deviations from the present competency (where the participant presently is) to the desired training (where the participant wishes to be). The greater the index, the greater the need for training. A negatively signed index indicates no need for training.

The questions, or items, on the instrument pertained to one of the following six general areas: (1) curriculum and instruction; (2) evaluation techniques; (3) human skills; (4) staff organization; (5) language, linguistics and content; and (6) culture. All the data then were ranked according to the correlated t test results. Table 1 outlines the findings of the study.

The data for five of the six areas were significant statistically at $p \leq .001$. Overall (1) evaluation techniques, (2) language, linguistics and context, (3) curriculum and instruction, and (4) culture were ranked very closely as priority training-need areas.

In addition, the correlated t-test-value for each question on the instrument was calculated. The highest-ranked question pertained to the ability to adapt instruction for the gifted and talented student. Next was a question pertaining to diagnosing learning problems and prescribing instruction. Third in need was a question pertaining to the acquisition of two language systems.

TABLE 1

Correlated *t*-Test Values for the Six General Training Needs

Rank	Training Need	*t* Value	*T* test *p*
1	Evaluation Techniques	6.83	0.000
2	Language, Linguistics and Content	6.75	0.000
3	Curriculum and Instruction	6.57	0.000
4	Culture	4.77	0.000
5	Staff Organization	3.51	0.001
6	Human Skills	1.33	0.186

This was followed by a question that referred to involving parents in the instructional program. Concern about the quality of the instructional program in the surveyed schools clearly emerged as a global concern in this pool of individual questions.

The findings of our study reinforced our own observations that bilingual personnel need and desire preservice and inservice training in bilingual education. In addition to the tasks of evaluation and teaching language, bilingual education personnel express a desire for training in the areas of curriculum and instruction, culture, and staff organization. These findings are of educational value in that they help target bilingual training needs for the 1980s.

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The Relative Importance of Bilingual Education in Maintaining the Minority Language

Eliverio Chávez

For this study, I investigated the Spanish language proficiency of Hispanic students participating in bilingual education programs in order to determine the relative importance of a bilingual pedagogical approach in the development and retention of the minority language. Measures of proficiency were: a Spanish availability test, a sociolinguistic questionnaire, and a standardized language dominance proficiency test. The results indicated that factors such as rurality, linguistic and geographic isolation, socio-economic status, and active language use are relatively more important for Spanish language maintenance and proficiency than is bilingual education.

Administrators, teachers, and teacher aides often state that bilingual education programs engender the retention and development of the minority language. This assumption has received some support from studies, such as the one by Cohen (1975), which indicate that bilingual programs contribute to Spanish language maintenance by encouraging the use of Spanish among bilingual education students. Research that has studied the effects of bilingual education on language learning has been inconclusive, however; both positive and negative results have been reported. For example, the results of the St. Lambert project (Lambert & Tucker, 1972), the Ottawa project (Barik & Swain, 1975), and the Culver City project (Cohen, 1974) were essentially positive in that bilingual competence was achieved in both the home and the school language. At the same time, some bilingual

education programs have produced mixed results; for instance, the Redwood City project (Cohen, 1974) proved ineffectual for Anglo students learning Spanish and only minimally effective for Mexican-American students learning English. Nonetheless, the use of Spanish by Mexican Americans was favorably affected (Cohen, 1975).

Negative results have also been reported, for example, in Mackey's (1972) report on the John F. Kennedy School in Berlin, and the report by Barik and Swain (1974) on the Elgin program in St. Thomas, Ontario. In these programs, bilingual instruction was detrimental to the development of language skills in both languages. The only large-scale national evaluation on the effectiveness of federally funded Title VII Bilingual Education Programs (AIR Report) has shown that these programs are not generally effective in producing competency in the target language; they did achieve favorable results, however, in the development of the minority language (Reed, 1977). In general, the controversy surrounding the contribution of bilingual education to language proficiency has not been satisfactorily resolved.

Other variables, such as attitudes, have also been correlated to language retention and language loss in previous studies. For instance, it has been shown that the displacement of Norman French by English in the Gaspe Peninsula (Quebec, Canada) was partially due to the low status of French (Mougeon, 1976). Also, the demotion of Spanish in Los Angeles was related to an attitude motivation factor that ultimately led to the loss of Spanish proficiency (Phillips, 1975). In this same vein, attitudinal factors dealing with ethnicity and self-identity have also had an effect on language change. Pietropaolo (1974) found that the maintenance of Italian in Toronto correlated positively with conscious effort to maintain cultural identity, and similar results were reported by Lieberson (1970), who related maintenance of French in Canada to the maintenance of ethnicity. It should be noted, however, that some studies (Solé, 1976) have produced results indicating that attitudinal factors are not as important as linguistic ability in the retention of the minority language.

Additional factors that have been correlated to retention of the home language are linguistic and geographic isolation. Sánchez (1976), for example, reported that Chicano bilingualism in the Southwest persists because of linguistic isolation from other language groups, and Miller (1969) reported that French

language maintenance by Franco Americans in northern New England was promoted by the relative isolation of Franco Americans from the rest of the United States. A study by Spolsky (1974) has indicated the interrelationship of isolation and urbanism. In his study on Navajo use he found that children living near an off-reservation town were more likely to speak English than were children living in more isolated areas on the reservation. Thompson (1974), in a study of a Mexican-American neighborhood in Austin, Texas, reported that language shift from Spanish to English was in progress in the urban setting. Essentially all of these studies verified one of the most logical and best documented generalizations in language maintenance and language shift: that urban dwellers are more inclined to shift, and that rural dwellers, because they are more isolated, are less inclined to shift (Fishman, 1971a).

Educational and social advancement have also had an impact on language behavior, especially in cases in which members of a minority language group seek social advancement. Studies like those by van der Plank (1973) have indicated that upward social mobility results in linguistic assimilation of language minorities, and research by Amastae (1978) suggests that upwardly mobile Mexican Americans in south Texas tend to abandon Spanish in favor of English. On the other hand, lack of social advancement tends to result in language maintenance. For instance, Mexican-American children in San Antonio, Texas, living in a low socioeconomic environment are marked by strong linguistic competence in Spanish but insignificant competence in English (Vallejo, 1976). With regard to educational advancement, Teschner (1981) reported that Spanish-language loyalty among students at the University of Texas at El Paso was related to the educational attainment of the students' mothers; that is, lower educational attainment of the mothers correlated with loyalty to Spanish by the sons. This notion was supported by López (1978), who reported that loyalty to Spanish in Los Angeles was related to low educational achievement. Thus the normal relationship between educational and social advancement and language change is that advancement contributes to language shift.

The active use of the minority language is another factor that has been shown to have a strong relationship to the preservation of the home language. In a study reported by Hayden (1966), which involved the use of French in Fall River (Massachusetts), Spanish in San Antonio and New York, and Ukrainian in

Olyphant (Pennsylvania) and Newark (New Jersey), the primary factor that enabled children to master the ethnic mother tongue was active use of the minority language in the home. Other studies that have demonstrated the retentive relationship between home language use and Spanish language maintenance are those by Hudson-Edwards & Bills (1982), who reported on language shift in Albuquerque, New Mexico, and by Thompson (1971), who conducted a study of langauge use in Austin, Texas. In essence, active use of the language is a well-documented factor in the development of minority language proficiency.

PURPOSE

In an effort to determine the relative importance of various factors in the maintenance of the minority language, the present study sought an answer to the following question: What is the relative importance of bilingual education in the development and maintenance of Spanish language proficiency in a population of Hispanic students who are undergoing language shift from Spanish to English? The research question is based on both theoretical and empirical studies, which have suggested that minority language proficiency is based on various sociocultural, psychological, and pedagogical factors. In order to address the question, the present study examined five independent variables: bilingual education, rural and urban residence, educational and occupational achievement, active language use, and language attitudes. The dependent variable, Spanish language proficiency, was determined by a direct measure (a standardized language proficiency test), as well as indirect measures (a self-assessment and an availability test). In light of previous studies, the following null hypotheses are consistent both with the research in the field and with current theory. Hypothesis 1: There will be no correlation between Spanish language proficiency and bilingual education. Hypothesis 2: There will be no correlation between Spanish language proficiency and sociocultural and psychological factors.

METHOD

Setting

Three separate school districts in north-central New Mexico participated in the present study: Chama Valley Independent Schools, a rural district that is characterized by geographic and

Table 1
Ethnic Composition of School Districts

District Type	Total Enrollment	Hispanic	Native American	Black	Other
Urban	6,989	80.7%	7.8%	0.1%	11.1%
Semi-Rural	1,824	33.0%	53.9%	0.0%	12.9%
Rural	998	82.7%	0.5%	0.0%	16.7%

Source: Bureau of Business & Economic Research, *New Mexico Statistical Abstract, 1979-80* (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico, 1979), p. 22.

linguistic isolation as well as a rustic life style; Cuba Independent Schools, a semi-rural district that has relatively more contact with the social institutions of mainstream America; and Española Municipal Schools, an urban district consisting of a central city and several surrounding communities. The three districts represent a gradation from rurality to urbanism as well as a concomitant gradation in geographic and linguistic isolation with the most rural district characterized by the greatest degree of isolation. Table 1 shows the ethnic composition of the three school districts that provided subjects for the study.

Subjects

The subjects for this study ranged from six to fourteen years of age and constituted a sample of students from the first grade through the eighth grade. The informants were participating in state and federal bilingual education programs and were initially selected for participation in bilingual programs on the basis of limited English proficiency; therefore, they were ideal subjects for the present study because they represented those individuals who have theoretically maintained the home language. At the same time, they had been exposed to a bilingual pedagogical approach and thus were an index of the effectiveness of bilingual education in the maintenance and development of the minority language. Fifty-five percent of the subjects were male and 45 percent were female. Ninety percent were native-born New Mexicans and had lived an average of eight to thirteen years at their present address, which suggests a relatively stable population.

The majority of the subjects' parents were also native-born New Mexicans; only six of the fathers and ten of the mothers reported being born somewhere other than in New Mexico. Although the occupational distribution of the parents was quite varied, both fathers and mothers tended to cluster within three

occupational groups. Among fathers, 24 percent were service workers or laborers, 27 percent were craftsmen or blue collar workers, and 22 percent were white collar or subprofessional workers. Among mothers, 19 percent were service workers or laborers, 22 percent were white collar or subprofessional, and 52 percent were homemakers. In reference to education, the majority of the parents clustered within the secondary educational range, that is, from seven to twelve years of education. An analysis by site indicated that the adults from the rural district had the highest percentage of service workers and laborers as well as the lowest educational levels. In fact, more than four times as many fathers from the rural district had only an elementary education compared with those from the urban district, and five times fewer had some college education compared with fathers from the urban district. In essence, the subjects from the rural district come from homes marked by a lower socioeconomic status.

Instrumentation

Three measures were used to assess the language skills of the subjects who participated in the study: a standardized language dominance proficiency test, a Spanish availability test, and a self-rating of the four basic Spanish language skills. In addition, the relationship between language proficiency and sociopsychological factors was examined by the use of a sociolinguistic census form. The language dominance proficiency test used to measure the Spanish language skills of the subjects is the Language Assessment Scales (LAS). This test is divided into two instruments: the LAS 1, which is designed for children in grades K-5, and the LAS 2, for grades 6 and up. Each instrument also consists of two independent tests, one in English and the other in Spanish, which are presented primarily on tape.

The sociolinguistic questionnaire was a modification of one used by Fishman (1971b) in his sociolinguistic census of a Puerto Rican neighborhood in Jersey City. The questionnaire is divided into two major components: first, a section dealing with demographic variables, and second, a section composed of language questions related to active language use in the domains of home, school, and religion, as well as self-ratings of language skills, the developmental aspect of language, and language attitudes.

The availability test is based on a model formulated by Mackey (1970) in his research on French-English bilingualism. The test

used in the present study elicited Spanish words associated with various semantic fields such as food, clothing, and the like. The subjects produced words that serve as labels for concept categories, especially concrete nouns.

Selection of Subjects

Directors of bilingual education programs were contacted for the purpose of obtaining LAS scores of students participating in bilingual education programs. Through these efforts, test scores for a total of 462 students were obtained. A sample of the population was derived by arbitrarily selecting every fourth student whose name appeared on the LAS test scores. Subsequent administration of the availability test and the sociolinguistic questionnaire produced a sample size of 105 students. In addition to the availability test and the sociolinguistic questionnaire, a sample of 100 LAS scores was analyzed to compare the scores with the results of the other two measurements. The sample was obtained by selecting the scores of every other male and female to ensure a representative sample of male and female test results.

Administration of Instruments

At each school in which the study was conducted, the research team was provided with private rooms in which to administer the instruments. First, students answered questions contained in the sociolinguistic questionnaire; then the availability test was administered. After the initial instructions, two practice semantic fields and 10 additional fields were used. The time alloted for each semantic field was one minute. The practice semantic fields were colors and numbers, and the 10 additional fields were the body, clothes, the house, nature, food, the school, animals, occupations, the family, and religion. The words supplied by the subjects were recorded by means of a cassette tape recorder and were later transcribed. Overall, the sociolinguistic questionnaire and the availability test required 20 minutes per subject.

RESULTS

The sociolinguistic questionnaire generated various data concerning self-rated language proficiency; language acquisition; language use in the domains of the home, school, and religion; and language attitudes. An analysis of the responses related to self-assessed Spanish language proficiency (Table 2) clearly

Table 2
Self-rated Spanish Language Proficiency

Language Skill	District	N	Yes (%)	A Little (%)	No (%)
Understand	Rural	27	92.6	7.4	0.0
Spanish	Semi-Rural	30	56.6	36.6	6.6
	Urban	48	41.6	47.9	10.4
Speak	Rural	27	92.6	7.4	0.0
Spanish	Semi-Rural	30	40.0	50.0	10.0
	Urban	48	33.3	43.7	22.9
Read	Rural	27	40.7	44.4	14.8
Spanish	Semi-Rural	30	20.0	40.0	40.0
	Urban	47	17.0	31.9	51.0
Write	Rural	27	41.4	48.1	40.7
Spanish	Semi-Rural	30	23.3	33.3	43.3
	Urban	48	10.4	29.1	60.4

revealed a correlation between proficiency and rurality; that is, the more rural the locality, the greater the proficiency in Spanish reported by the informants. For example, in relation to understanding Spanish, 93 percent of the subjects from the rural district answered "yes," which is 36 percent more than the semi-rural district and 51 percent more than the urban district. With regard to speaking Spanish, the 93 percent reported by informants from the rural district is 53 percent more than the semi-rural district and 59 percent more than the urban district. These results indicate that the subjects from the rural district are more proficient in aural-oral skills than are the subjects from the other two districts.

With respect to the active use of the minority language, the subjects from the rural district demonstrated a higher overall usage. In the home domain, the data from the rural district indicated that 78 percent of the subjects use Spanish in spoken communication, while inversely, the results from both the urban and semi-rural districts indicated that 67 percent use only English at home.

In the school domain, 11 percent of the subjects from the rural district use Spanish exclusively, and 11 percent use both Spanish and English with other students. On the other hand, 90 percent of the subjects from both the semi-rural and urban districts use only English with other students. In the language used with the teacher, 82 percent of the subjects from the rural district, 67 percent from the semi-rural district, and 92 percent from the urban district use English exclusively when talking to the teacher.

In the domain of religion, the subjects from all three sites have had some exposure to Spanish in church. In the rural district the priest or minister used Spanish 12 percent of the time, in the urban district 13 percent of the time, and in the semi-rural district, 8 percent of the time. Despite the exposure to Spanish in church, the dominant language for personal prayer was English for all three sites. The subjects in the semi-rural district reported that when praying by themselves they use Spanish 3 percent of the time compared to 10 percent in the urban district and 15 percent in the rural district. Essentially, the subjects from the rural district use Spanish to a greater extent in all three settings; however, the results suggest that English is the dominant language in the domains of religion and school.

In reference to attitude toward the minority language, the results were mixed. When asked what language the subjects liked more, 63 percent from the rural district preferred Spanish followed by the urban district with 42 percent and the semi-rural district with 37 percent. However, when the informants were asked which language is the most important, only 31 percent of the subjects from the rural district named Spanish compared to 60 percent from the semi-rural district and 47 percent from the urban district. Despite the mixed results, there was a positive orientation toward the minority language by the subjects from all three districts.

The results of the availability test (Table 3) indicated a strong correlation between rurality and Spanish language proficiency. This correlation is evident in the fact that the average production of Spanish lexical items per subject increases as one goes from an urban area to a rural area. However, the difference between the urban and semi-rural districts is not substantial because the informants from the semi-rural district produced only 13 words more per subject, or an average of 1.3 words per semantic field. On the other hand, the subjects from the rural district produced twice as many words as those from the semi-rural district and three times as many words as the informants from the urban district. The superior lexical generation by the rural district was also evident in the absolute frequency of lexical items in all semantic fields tested. For example, in the semantic field of religion, the subjects from the rural district produced three times as many words as both the urban and semi-rural districts in spite of the fact that both the semi-rural and urban districts have more subjects than the rural district. In essence, the results indicate that

Table 3

Production of Lexical Items, by Site, in Absolute Frequencies with the Mean

Semantic Fields (in Spanish)	Rural District (N = 27)	Semi-Rural District (N = 30)	Urban District (N = 18)
Body	355	241	282
Clothes	251	138	156
House	343	165	151
Nature	276	92	108
Food	319	177	263
School	215	117	130
Animals	335	180	213
Occupations	146	51	46
Family	286	142	149
Religion	233	67	78
Total	2759	1370	1570
Mean Production	102.2	45.7	32.7

the subjects from the rural district have a more extensive Spanish lexicon.

The results from the Spanish LAS (Table 4) correspond with the data from the availability test and the self-rating, namely, that the subjects from the rural district are more proficient in Spanish than the subjects from the urban district. This corroboration is meaningful in light of the fact that the LAS is a more thorough, convergent assessment measure. Rather than depending on a single aspect of oral language as the availability test does, the LAS provides an overall picture of aural-oral linguistic proficiency based on a student's performance across four linguistic subsystems. The total score in Table 4 is based on conversion scores provided by the authors of the test.

In addition to scores for individual subsystems as well as a total score, the LAS also provides language proficiency levels that are derived from normative interpretation scores and that classify students as either fluent speakers, limited speakers, or nonspeak-

Table 4

Results from the Spanish LAS: Total Score

District	N	Median	Mean	Range	Total Points Possible
Rural	50	69	63.34	24-87	100
Urban	50	11	49.12	29-96	100

Table 5
Spanish Language Proficiency Levels

District	N	Nonspeaker	Limited Speaker	Fluent Speaker
Rural	50	50.0%	24.0%	26.0%
Urban	50	80.0%	12.0%	8.0%

ers of Spanish. The data (Table 5) show that the rural district has three times as many fluent speakers as the urban district; however, the data also reveal that 50 percent of the subjects from the rural district and 80 percent of the subjects from the urban district are categorized as nonspeakers of Spanish. These findings suggest that the subjects are shifting from Spanish to English in spite of the intervention of maintenance bilingual programs.

In essence, all three measures of Spanish language proficiency indicated that the subjects from the rural district are more proficient in the minority language than informants from the other two districts. A more extensive presentation of the data and a more detailed analysis of the results can be found in an earlier work (Chávez, 1984). Basically, the results support studies such as that conducted by Fishman (1971a), which indicate that rurality and the concomitant linguistic and geographic isolation favor maintenance of the minority language.

DISCUSSION

The present study assessed the Spanish language proficiency of Hispanic students participating in bilingual education programs in order to investigate the relative importance of bilingual education in the development and maintenance of the minority language in relation to various sociocultural, psychological, and economic factors. The underlying, tentative assumption was that if bilingual education prompted the use and development of the minority language, then there would be a leveling effect on the Spanish language proficiency of Hispanic bilingual students. In other words, an educational method that uses the students' home language as a medium of instruction theoretically provides optimal conditions for the maintenance and development of the minority language. Therefore, participation in a bilingual education program should tend to equalize the Spanish linguistic abilities of native Spanish speakers. The leveling effect of education would, in turn, counteract the influence exerted by the other factors. The criteria used to examine this postulate were

presented in the form of two null hypotheses. Each hypothesis is scrutinized in this section in order to determine the validity of the original assumption.

The first hypothesis, that there will be no correlation between Spanish language proficiency and bilingual education, is accepted. All three measures of language proficiency suggest that factors other than bilingual education are responsible for Spanish language maintenance and proficiency. This conclusion is supported by the lack of Spanish language skills demonstrated by the subjects in the urban district. This district has had a federally funded bilingual program for 13 years, yet the subjects in this district produced an average of only 3.3 words per semantic field. In addition, the results of the Spanish Language Assessment Scales (LAS) indicated that only four students from the urban district are fluent speakers of Spanish.

A factor that may have contributed to the lack of success in the maintenance of the minority language by the bilingual programs that participated in the study is the fact that Spanish is not used for communication in the school domain. For instance, in the urban district, 92 percent of the bilingual participants used English exclusively when talking to the teacher, and even the subjects from the rural district used English 82 percent of the time. The low use of Spanish in the schools is somewhat of an anomaly in light of the fact that the students are participating in bilingual education programs in which maintenance of the minority language and culture was an acknowledged purpose of each program. Logically, one would expect a much higher use of Spanish in programs where the minority language is theoretically used as a medium of instruction, and even more so in programs where students are characterized by limited English proficiency and come from homes in which the use of Spanish is a dominant factor for participation in the program. It may be that the lack of Spanish usage in the schools has presented a psychological deterrent for the student that has ultimately contributed to language shift. The student may perceive the school as a domain in which English is the more appropriate language for communication, and by extension, the more important language.

The second hypothesis, that there will be no correlation between Spanish language proficiency and sociocultural and psychological factors, is rejected. The data produced by the sociolinguistic questionnaire indicated various factors related to minority language proficiency: rurality, linguistic and geographic

isolation, language use at home, occupational status and educational achievement of the parents of the subjects, and language attitudes. With respect to rurality, all three measurements indicated that subjects from the rural district are more proficient in Spanish than their counterparts from the other two districts. However, it is the interrelationship of many factors that has contributed to the superior results demonstrated by the rural district. First of all, it is the most geographically and linguistically isolated district; consequently, the subjects from this area have the least linguistic influence from English and the greatest opportunity to use Spanish in the community. The subjects in the rural district also differ from the other two districts in language development and language use. For example, a greater number of subjects from the rural district indicated that Spanish is the first language they understood and the first language they spoke. As for language use, a greater proportion of subjects from the rural district use Spanish in aural-oral communication both in the home and with their peers in the school. In terms of occupational status and educational achievement, the rural district has the highest percentage of adults who are service workers and laborers; also, they have lower educational levels than the residents of the other two districts. In fact, the educational variable produced a negative relationship with the lexical generation by the subjects. The data indicated that the lower the educational level of the fathers, the higher the lexical production of the informants. The educational factor was also negatively related to language liked most and language used with other students. Like lexical production, the lower the educational level of the parents, the higher the percentage of subjects who liked Spanish more and the higher the percentage who used Spanish with other students. Finally, in terms of language attitude, a larger percentage of the subjects from the rural district indicated that Spanish is the language they liked most. In essence, the rural district is characterized by many factors that tend to favor language maintenance.

CONCLUSION

Past research dealing with language maintenance and language shift has revealed numerous factors that are correlated with the retention and the relinquishment of the native language. The present study has verified many of the findings produced by past research, and at the same time, it has offered new information

concerning the relative importance of bilingual education in the maintenance and development of the home language among Hispanic students who come from homes in which Spanish is spoken as a native language.

A significant factor in language preservation in the present study is rurality, which has been shown in several studies to be highly correlated with language maintenance. However, the results of the present study indicate that linguistic and geographic isolation are even more important than rurality per se. For instance, the semi-rural district is also located in a rural setting and is very similar to the rural district in population size; however, the districts differ in linguistic and geographic isolation. The rural district has a high concentration of Hispanics both in the school and in the community; thus the informants from the rural district have ample opportunity to speak Spanish. On the other hand, the subjects from the semi-rural district are not isolated from the other language groups. The large number of Navajos in the semi-rural district creates a speech community in which English has become the lingua franca and is used to a greater extent. In essence, there are two interrelated factors that favor language maintenance in the rural district: the higher relative concentration of Hispanics, and the isolation from populations that speak other languages.

However, just as rurality by itself is not enough to ensure the use of the minority language, a high concentration of Hispanics in and of itself is not enough to ensure Spanish language maintenance. This is evident in the results produced by the subjects from the urban district. This district has a very high percentage of Hispanics with 80 percent of the community and 81 percent of the student body being of Spanish origin, yet this district has the lowest Spanish language proficiency. These results indicate the importance of the interrelationship of rurality, a high concentration of Hispanics, and isolation from other language groups. Past studies have suggested that population concentration is more important for language maintenance in urban than in rural settings (Fishman, 1972). However, the present study indicates that population concentration is equally important in rural settings.

With respect to bilingual education, the results suggest that a bilingual pedagogical approach is not a strong determinant of proficiency in Spanish. These results have a direct bearing on minority groups and bilingual educators who may be involved in

efforts to maintain the home language and culture. The implication is that minority language maintenance would best be achieved by a home-based program that concentrated its efforts on active language use in the home domain. Nonetheless, one cannot definitively determine the effect of bilingual education without further research. There is a need to examine the development of Spanish language proficiency among native, Spanish-speaking Hispanic students who are not in bilingual programs, and to compare their performance with that of Hispanic students who are receiving their education using a bilingual approach. All one can say is that the results and conclusions produced by the present study are consistent with a substantial number of research findings to date. However, the study of bilingual education is characterized by polemics, and the present state of the art does not allow apodictic statements. Perhaps additional research in this field will ultimately permit statements of certainty.

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Training for Minority Language Parents: Are We Providing Them What They Want or Need?

Jim Bransford and Rodolfo L. Chávez

In this study, we attempted to identify the skills, knowledge, and attitudes that parents of students in bilingual education programs believe are important in order for them to play a meaningful role in their children's education. Developing training programs for parents that reflect the areas parents believe to be important is critical to the success of any parent training model or activity.

Most people would be hard pressed to find any general opposition to the idea that parental involvement plays an important role in the educational efforts of children. This wholesale recognition is not limited to mainstream families, the white Anglo Saxon middle class, but extends through every social classification and includes families whose language and culture differ from those of the mainstream.

Over the years, especially following the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s, research studies have suggested that active parental involvement probably plays not just a part in the academic progress and achievement of the student, but plays perhaps one of the most critical parts. A number of these studies have shown a direct positive relationship between active parental involvement and students' academic achievement (Henderson, 1981; Martinez, 1979).

As a result of some of these findings, federal and state agencies charged with providing educational and support services to special populations, especially those consisting of linguistic or culturally different groups, have mandated that parents of children participating in the various programs be involved meaningfully in the planning, implementation, and evaluation of the programs (Keesling et al., 1981; Keller & Van Hooft, 1982).

In many cases, the agency directive has been preceded by federal or state legislation either encouraging or mandating parent participation. This is especially true of Title I, Title VI, and Title VII programs (Keller & Van Hooft, 1982) and is certainly true of early childhood development programs, most notably, Headstart.

Training activities that allow for the development of parental skills and knowledge in working cooperatively with the various agencies or schools for the benefit of those children have been supported by many of the federal and state-supported programs. Special funds in most Title programs are earmarked for parent training, and a number of agencies, including institutions of higher education, are encouraged, and in many cases funded, to develop programs providing for short-term as well as long-term training (Cruz, 1979).

PARENT TRAINING MODELS

The training activities discussed in the following paragraphs have developed, in some instances, into model programs. A number of the models were modifications of early efforts to involve mainstream parent groups, but some of the models were created specifically for use with language minority parents.

Children and Parents Interacting (CAPI) is one effort developed as a result of a federal mandate. Developed at Florida International University in Miami, this program is designed to create and promote greater Hispanic parent involvement (García, 1982). The major thrust of the program is to involve or enhance the involvement of such client populations as Hispanic parents and their limited-English proficient children, who demonstrate difficulty in the educational process. Its objectives are pursued through the implementation of cycles of parent-child training sessions and also follow-up activities. The training emphasizes the importance of positive interaction and communication among parents, children, and meaningful others. The ultimate goal is to strengthen student academic skills and English-language profi-

ciency. Training sessions focus on such issues as parenting skills, human interaction, the importance of parental involvement in the schools, U.S. educational philosophy, tutoring skills, and developing communication skills (García, 1982).

The Tri-State Bilingual Parent Training Program, developed at St. Michael's College in Vermont, is another example of a minority language parent training model (Crespo & Louque, 1984). Although developed for a special geographical population, the model can be generalized. Its purpose is to improve community awareness and parents' abilities to collaborate on various educational activities for children. Workshops on schooling, child development, bilingual education, and other areas are provided (Crespo & Louque, 1984). Learning more about schools and how they operate along with what parents can expect from them is one objective of this specific model. Training topics include How Children Learn, Role of Parents in the School, and Contributions Parents Can Make at Home (Crespo & Louque, 1984).

Other models attempting to address the training requirements of minority language populations include Parents in Action (PIA) working out of California (Crespo & Louque, 1984), the S.T.E.P. Model or Systematic Training for Parents (Dinkmeyer & Mackay, 1976), Gordon's (1970) Parent Effectiveness Training (PET), and Glasser's Parent Involvement Program (Glasser, 1965).

One of the models developed specifically for Spanish- speaking parents in the Southwestern United States is the Casaus Model. This model, developed by Luis Casaus, Max Castillo, and Miguel Arciniega, was designed to assist Chicano parents to develop skills that would facilitate more active participation in the educational process by changing parental attitudes concerning their role in the education of their children (Casaus, Arciniega, & Castillo, 1982). The premise of this model is that exclusionary and oppressive practices affect the self-esteem, and therefore, it is important to establish a process that provides an opportunity, especially for minority language parents, to validate their background in a cultural sense before learning skills. Specialists who provide parent training have agreed with this premise and are providing this understanding in their training programs. A recent study by Cervantes, Baca, and Torres (1979) supports the main premise of the Casaus Model; that is, the cultural element must be a prime consideration when attempting to involve parents in the educational process (Cervantes et al., 1979).

There seems to be no question about the value and importance of parent participation and no lack of training opportunities to develop skills, knowledge, and in many cases attitudes of parents as to their value in the educational efforts of their children. Why, then, has parental involvement not increased? Why do so many minority language parents continue to avoid any involvement in the school, and why has it been so difficult to maintain any continuity in terms of parent participation?

PARENT INVOLVEMENT IN DETERMINING TRAINING NEEDS

One of the primary questions we confronted in this study of parent involvement was why it is so difficult to get parents involved and keep them involved. It seemed to us, at least initially, that all the ingredients for successful parental involvement were in place. There was widespread agreement in terms of the value of such involvement. Agencies providing educational support to family groups were being encouraged—and in some cases mandated—to provide for parental involvement. Training activities to support participation were made available (Bransford & Chávez, 1981).

Our tentative conclusion was that parents were not being sufficiently or appropriately included in the determination of their own training needs. A gap existed between the agency or institution training specialists' analysis of needs and the perception of the parents relative to training needs. This study attempted to investigate this gap by surveying parents actively involved in the educational efforts of their children and attempting to get accurate information on their perceptions of their training needs.

A thorough review of the literature preceded any field survey activity. This search allowed us to identify the various training areas perceived important for parents to undergo in order that they develop the skills, knowledge, and attitudes that would allow them to play a meaningful role in the education of their children.

The literature search turned up almost 100 different training topics. These were training topics that field practitioners and other specialists had identified as areas of need for parent training. Only the topics that appeared independently in more than two research studies or articles dealing with parent participation were used when the final listing was developed.

The 100 items compiled from the literature review were consolidated or combined to result in 75 items divided almost

evenly among the three categories of skills, knowledge, and attitudes. Some of the items under the skills category (skills identified by experts in the field as important for parents to possess in order to become meaningfully involved in their children's educational efforts) included the following:

—Setting goals and objectives,
—Working with teachers in the classroom,
—Communicating with school officials,
—Communicating with children,
—Tutoring at home,
—Making decisions,
—Participating effectively in parent-teacher conferences, and
—Developing parent networking systems.

Some items under the knowledge category included the following:

—Role of the teacher,
—Role of parents in school,
—Organization of local school,
—Purpose of the schools,
—How a child learns,
—Curriculum development process,
—Successful parent/child relationship, and
—Parenting practices that help the reading process.

In the attitudes category were the following items:

—Parents should motivate children to learn;
—Education is an individual responsibility;
—Parents should have a role in planning in the classroom;
—Education is important to enrich the quality of life;
—Ethnic diversity should be reflected in the classroom;
—Schools should reflect community values;
—Schools should solicit parental input; and
—A close, positive relationship should exist between school and home.

A pilot survey was developed using these 75 items grouped within the three categories of skills, knowledge, and attitudes. This pilot survey was mailed to a sample of chairpersons of parent advisory committees (PACs) serving basic Title VII bilingual education programs in a five-state region served by the BUENO Bilingual Education Multifunctional Support Center (BEMSC). The PAC chairperson was asked to review the training

topics listed and to rank order the items within each category in terms of the perceived importance of each item relative to the meaningful involvement of parents in their children's education. Parents responding to this pilot survey were given the opportunity to add training topics items they felt had been left out and to rank those items along with those included in the list relative to their perceived importance. The purpose of the pilot survey was twofold: to validate the topics identified through the literature review and to indicate which of those items parents felt were the most important relative to their involvement in their children's education.

THE FIELD STUDY

A second, more general, survey was developed using the results of the pilot survey. The items selected by the panel as most important within each of the categories of skills, knowledge, and attitudes were included in the general survey. Those items that were ranked as the top 10 within each category were included in the general field survey. The general survey was mailed to 300 parents representing 30 basic bilingual education programs in the five-state designated service area referred to earlier (Colorado, Kansas, Nebraska, New Mexico, and Utah). Respondents were asked to rate the items included in the survey using a four-point, Likert-type scale ranging from Not Important (1) to Very Important (4) in terms of the perceived importance for parents to possess in order that they may play a meaningful role in their children's educational efforts.

Of the 300 survey forms mailed out, 185 or 61 percent were returned in usable form. The study attempted to test three hypotheses stated in the null form:

H 1. There is no agreement among parents actively involved in their children's public school education relative to the skills, knowledge, and attitudes perceived to be important for parents to possess in order that they may play a meaningful role in their children's educational efforts.

H 2. There is no agreement among parents actively involved in their children's public school education in terms of the perceived relative importance of the identified skills, knowledge, and attitudes perceived important for parents to possess in order that they may play a meaningful role in their children's educational efforts.

H 3. There is no difference between the perception of relative importance of the skills, knowledge, and attitudes believed to be important for parents to possess in order that they may play a meaningful role in their children's educational efforts and:

- H 3a. The age of the respondent
- H 3b. The sex of the respondent
- H 3c. The marital status of the respondent
- H 3d. The size of the respondent's family
- H 3e. The family income level
- H 3f. The educational level of the respondent
- H 3g. The number of students enrolled in the school districts represented
- H 3h. The primary language preference of the respondent
- H 3i. The return date of the questionnaire
- H 3j. The occupation of the respondent, whether semiprofessional, professional, household, or unemployed
- H 3k. The location of the school, whether urban, suburban, or rural
- H 3l. The state where the respondent resides, whether New Mexico, Utah, Nebraska, Colorado, or Kansas.

The data were subjected to a number of statistical procedures. A frequency distribution of every independent variable and item included in each of the skills, knowledge, and attitudes categories was prepared. A Pearson product-moment correlation was computed for all items included in each of the skills, knowledge, and attitudes categories self-correlated. A one-factor analysis of variance was computed on all independent variables with items included in each of the skills, knowledge, and attitudes categories. Finally, a Duncan T test was employed to isolate significant differences among and within the items.

FINDINGS

A number of interesting findings resulted from this study. Parents responding to the initial pilot survey believed that training activities that would enable them to develop more effective communication with their children, the school, and with other parents were of utmost importance. Skills and knowledge that would allow them directly to assist their children with their study at home or to assist in the classroom were perceived to be very important. In general, parents were not interested in

developing enhanced capabilities in such areas as addressing a school board, understanding the legal process, or those issues more related to political, social, or legal awareness. No items that would fall in any of these governance categories were perceived to be important by the respondents.

The skill area that parents perceived to be the most important was "Communicating with Children." The knowledge area receiving the highest ranking in the pilot survey was "Knowing the Role of the Parent in the Home," followed closely by "How a Child Learns." Parents perceived their role in "Motivating the Child to Learn" as very important.

Parents responding to the general survey thought that all items included in the survey were important. There was wide agreement among all respondents in the perception that the items included in each of the categories of skills, knowledge, and attitudes were important for parents to possess.

When asked to consider the relative importance of those items included in the three categories, parents reported a high correlation among almost all items. This perception was found to be true in the skills, knowledge, and attitudes categories. Parents did not identify any single skill, knowledge, or attitude that was not closely related to at least one other. They felt that the enhancement in any one area would improve or at least impact on another.

Because we were interested in identifying the perceived needs of parents relative to training needs, we attempted to isolate the respondents relative to age, sex, socioeconomic status, and so forth. Information gleaned from this data could provide trainers with opportunities to tailor the training activities to better reflect the needs of different segments of the trainee population.

The third hypothesis stated that there would be no difference between the perception of relative importance of the skills, knowledge, and attitudes believed to be important for parents to possess in order that they may play a meaningful role in their children's educational efforts and the aforementioned variables 3a through 3l.

There was no significant difference in terms of the age of the respondent and the perceived relative importance of any of the items included in either of the categories. A significant difference was found to exist when looking at the sex of the respondent and perceived relative importance of the knowledge areas "The Role of Parents in the School" and "The Role of the Parent in the

Classroom." Male respondents perceived that understanding these roles was of less importance to any meaningful involvement in the educational process than was true of their female counterparts.

A difference in perception also occurred between the attitude item "Parents Should Motivate Children to Learn" and the age of the respondent. Respondents in the age range 36-65 perceived their role in motivating learning to be of less importance than did their younger counterparts (ages 19-35).

No significant difference between relative importance of category topics and the size of the respondent's family was found to exist. A significant difference was found to exist between the dependent variables and the independent variable family income level. Respondents reporting a family income of more than $50,000 per year perceived education as "Important to Achieve Financial Security" to be more important than did their lower income counterparts. They also perceived the knowledge items "How a Child Learns," "Teacher Role in Education," and "Relationship Between Home and School" to be more important than did the lower income respondents.

Educational level seemed to have little relationship in terms of the perceived relative importance of those items found in the three categories. This was not the case when looking at size of school as determined by the number of students enrolled in the school district. Respondents from larger (higher enrollment) school districts reported that "Communicating with Children," "Communicating with School Officials," and the "Development of Closer Relationships Between Teacher, Home, and School," were more important skills to possess than did the respondents from smaller school districts. School districts were grouped according to size of enrollment: Group One, 100 to 1,000 students; Group Two, 1,000 to 3,000 students; Group Three, 3,000 and over. Group Three respondents perceived these items to be more important than did their counterparts in the other two groups.

There was only a slight difference in terms of the perception of the respondents and the relative importance of any of the skills, knowledge, or attitudes items when isolated according to the language preference of the respondent. Spanish-speaking respondents found "Tutoring at Home" to be a more important skill to be developed than did their English-speaking counterparts.

No differences among respondents' perceptions were noted for the independent variables "date of questionnaire" and "occupation of respondent" (whether semiprofessional, professional, household, or unemployed). There were some differences in perception between the perceived relative importance of several of the items listed under the skills, knowledge, and attitudes categories and "the location of the school" (whether urban, suburban, or rural). Respondents from suburban schools thought that "Communicating with Children," "Communicating with School Officials," "Facilitating Greater Parental Involvement," and "Roles of Parents" were less important skills to be developed than did their counterparts in rural and urban schools.

Differences were also noted between the perception of relative importance of skills, knowledge, and attitudes perceived as important for parents to possess and "the state where the respondent resides, whether New Mexico, Utah, Nebraska, Colorado, or Kansas." Those respondents from the state of Utah had different perceptions relative to the importance of the role of parents, the issue of networking, and the whole issue of enhanced communication from those of their counterparts in the other states surveyed. In effect, the respondents from Utah found these issues or topics to be of less importance than did the others.

The study found that parents were generally in agreement, not only with themselves and as a group but with trainers as well, in terms of parent training topic areas. They believed that all those items identified as important for parents to possess in order to enhance their roles as partners with their children in the education process were important. They did not include any of the governance issues among those perceived to be important.

CONCLUSIONS

These findings may have implications for individuals attempting to design and develop training programs for parents. Although the general topics are generally agreed on, trainers should understand that parents are requesting practical training that is directly applicable to the child in the schoolroom. They are not as interested in policy matters or less abstract theoretical understandings.

Parents also differ in what they see as important according to those independent variables studied. Trainers should group parents according to perceived needs, but consider the different

perceptions of priorities and needs determined by their differing social, emotional, and personal characteristics.

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Chicana Doctoral Students: Another Look at Educational Equity

Jayni Flores

Telephone interviews were conducted with 50 Chicanas—30 graduates and 20 dropouts—who had been enrolled in Title VII Bilingual Education Doctoral Fellowship Programs in the Southwestern states of Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas.

The interview was designed to provide a demographic profile for each of the students and information on the Chicanas' perceptions of such variables as racism, sexism, economics, family responsibilities, support networks, role models, and mentors. The central purpose of the study was to test the effects of these variables on the Chicanas' attrition or graduation. This paper addresses only the demographic profile and the racism and sexism variables.

Major conclusions are presented along with recommendations for future studies and suggestions for helping graduate faculties be more attuned to the special needs of ethnic minority women in graduate school.

According to the 1980 Census the ratio of white, non-Hispanic women to Chicanas was 21.6 to 1. In fiscal year 1980, 7,104 white, non-Hispanic women received doctoral degrees while only 33 Chicanas received the same degree; distribution proportionate to the general population would reflect a ratio of 322.9 Chicanas to 7,104 white, non-Hispanic women receiving the doctoral degree. This research was conducted in an attempt to determine why Chicanas have such a disproportionately low rate of completion at the doctoral level as compared to white, non-Hispanic women.

The study also examined the variables that differentiate those Chicanas who complete their programs of study—the graduates—from those who do not—the dropouts. For this study, a *graduate* is a Chicana who has completed the terminal degree, either the Ph.D. or Ed.D., under the Title VII Bilingual Education Doctoral Fellowship Program. A *dropout* is someone who left the Fellowship Program before completing course requirements or who was lacking only the dissertation and had not moved in the direction of completion two years after finishing course requirements. It was assumed that all of these women had the necessary skills to be admitted to graduate school.

METHODS

The sample of subjects selected for this study was from among Chicana Title VII Bilingual Education Doctoral Fellows at selected universities throughout the southwestern states of Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas.

Telephone interviews were conducted with 30 Chicana graduates and 20 Chicana dropouts between January and May 1984. Table 1 shows the number of graduates and dropouts selected randomly from each state and university.

An interview guide was developed by the researcher for use in the telephone interviews. The interview guide was designed to provide a demographic profile for each of the subjects and information on the Chicanas' perceptions of such variables as racism, sexism, economics, family responsibilities, support networks, role models, and mentors. The central purpose of the study was to test the effects of these variables on the Chicanas' attrition or graduation.

When the interviews were completed, the responses were recorded on a coding matrix and processed by computer. The coding matrix was developed to record and report each subject's data while maintaining her anonymity. Chi-square tests of independence, the Fisher's exact test of probabilities, and frequencies and percentages were used to analyze the data. For the purposes of this paper only the demographic profile and the racism and sexism variables will be addressed.

DEMOGRAPHICS

The first objective of this study was to provide a demographic profile of the 50 Chicana Title VII Fellows selected for the sample. Variables examined from the demographic profile were:

Table 1
Breakdown of Respondents by State

State	University	Number of Graduates Chosen	Number of Dropouts Chosen
Arizona	1	1	2
	2	2	0
California	1	1	1
	2(a)	0	0
	3	0	1
	4(b)	0	0
	5	2	0
Colorado	1	2	1
New Mexico	1	2	7
	2	5	1
Texas	1	1	0
	2	10	1
	3	1	0

[a]Only two Chicanas were enrolled in this Title VII Program. Both were still in the process of taking classes.

[b]Only one Chicana had been enrolled in this Title VII Program. She had graduated from the program but was not selected because of randomized selection.

(1) age of the women when they began the doctoral program, (2) marital status at the beginning of the doctoral program, (3) whether a change in marital status had occurred by the time the women received the degree or left the program, and (4) number of dependents the women had.

Chi-square tests were computed to determine the relationship between age at beginning of the doctoral program and its relationship to completion of or dropout from the doctoral program. Three age categories were tested: 30 years of age and younger, 31-35 years of age, and 36 years of age and over.

The resulting data indicate that the ascribed characteristic, chronological age, is not statistically significant ($p < .05$) for Chicanas in determining completion of or withdrawal from the Bilingual Education Doctoral Fellowship Program. Data for ages of Chicana Title VII Fellows appear in Table 2.

Because cells for divorced or separated and widowed resulted in expected counts of fewer than five, the two columns for *divorced or separated* and *widowed* were collapsed. Therefore, the relationship between marital status and completion or dropping out was computed for single, married, and the combined column. The calculated chi-square was 13.239 ($p > .001$). The data, shown in Table 3, indicate that for Chicanas in the Title VII Fellowship

Table 2
Age of Respondents at Beginning of Doctoral Program

Age	30 and under	31-35	36 and over
Dropouts	8	5	7
Graduates	14	11	5

Program the achieved status, marriage, results in a significantly higher dropout rate for married women than for those who did not have a primary relationship with a man when they began their doctoral program.

A separate analysis of the question of whether these Chicanas had changed marital status by the time they graduated or left the program was computed. The computed chi-square showed no statistically significant change of marital status ($p > .05$) for either the graduates or dropouts.

Data for computing the number of dependents were also collapsed because some cells resulted in expected counts of fewer than five. Data were collapsed to provide columns for number of dependents as follows: 0 dependents, 1-2 dependents, and 3-6 dependents. The computed chi-square was not statistically significant for the number of dependents relating to graduation or attrition in this study. What is worthy of note is that 19 of the 30 graduates reported no dependents and only 4 graduates had 3-6 dependents. Only 6 of the 20 dropouts reported 0 dependents and the other 14 were almost evenly divided between the other two columns. Eight dropouts reported 1-2 dependents and six dropouts reported 3-6 dependents.

The results of the demographic portion of this study seem to be consistent with previous findings reported in the literature (Cross, 1974; Feldman, 1974; Fischer & Peters, 1979; Rees, 1974) that women tend to receive doctoral degrees later in life than men. A slightly higher number of the graduates in this study were 31.2 years old or older when they began their doctoral program.

Table 3
Marital Status at Beginning of Doctoral Program

Status	Single	Married	Divorced Separated or Widowed
Dropouts	3	15	2
Graduates	17	7	6

Although this study did not ask about their age at the time they received the degree, it can be assumed that most of the graduates would be 34 years old or older when they completed the doctorate.

In regard to marital status, the present study appears to support previous research (Cross, 1974; Feldman, 1974; Fischer & Peters, 1979) which reports that the least successful students are those women who attempt to combine the spouse and student roles.

The results for the third variable, dependents, also seem to be consistent with previous findings (Bean & Creswell, 1980; Centra, 1974; Gilmartin, 1980) that as one moves up the ladder of educational attainment, the percentage of never married or divorced women increases. The literature suggests that in order to achieve high educational and occupational status, females must often postpone marriage and reduce childbearing. What is significant, of course, is that men do not have to forego marriage and family to attain their education and occupational status.

RACISM AND SEXISM

The second objective of this study was to ascertain, according to the Chicanas' perceptions, to what extent variables such as racism and sexism related to their graduation or attrition. Each relationship was examined using chi-square tests of independence, Fisher's exact test, or frequencies and percentages. Because these relationships are qualitative descriptive material, the comments provided by the subjects for further elaboration are included in the discussion of results below.

For the variable *racism*, the Chicanas were asked if they ever felt that they had more problems in the doctoral program than Anglo students. The chi-square test results showed that racism was not a statistically significant variable related to graduation or noncompletion of the program.

To ascertain the Chicanas' perception of sexism as an effect of their completion of or withdrawal from the doctoral program, the women were asked whether they ever felt that because they are women they had more difficulties in the program than the men. The computed chi-square showed that sexism was not statistically significant either.

Because of the qualitatively descriptive nature of these two questions, the researcher felt that further examination and discussion of these questions were necessary. The raw data show

that for the *racism* variable, 21 of the women, which represents 42 percent of all the subjects, answered yes to this question. All subjects were asked to elaborate on their answer.

The comments recorded for the racism variable can be basically divided into two categories: (1) those who experienced racism from professors; and (2) those who felt Anglo students at the doctoral level came into the doctoral program with a better educational background. The six women who fit the second category seemed to feel that because they are Chicanas their previous educational experiences had not prepared them in developing the levels of speaking and writing skills necessary for doctoral work. A typical comment is, "I think I'm as intelligent as anyone, but I think they had better writing skills. They had better educations in high school, were better prepared."

Two comments from the women who are included in the first category, those who felt racism from professors, best summarize and describe the feeling of the other 15 women answering this question in the affirmative. Their comments follow:

S1: "Differences in expectations. Several professors wondered if I was really serious about the doctorate. My professors thought I wouldn't be a good writer because I am Hispanic."

S2: "That's hard to answer. I don't think I had problems academically. I think the professors had trouble seeing me as a serious student because of my ethnicity. It also depended on what field they were in."

Of interest with regard to the racism question is that even the two women who answered the question negatively, when they elaborated, said they felt that as Chicanas, more was expected of them in the doctoral program.

For the sexism variable, 28 women, representing 56 percent of all the subjects, answered yes to this question. When the women elaborated on this answer, their comments are again worthy of note. The comments for this variable can be separated in to the following three broad categories: (1) family/home responsibilities; (2) sexism on the professors' part; (3) lack of faculty support networks for the women.

The following two statements best summarize what was said in the first category (family/home responsibilities):

S1: "Yes, because of home obligations. I had to cook, wash, and all that before I could study."

S2: "Particularly toward the end. I was being pressured to finish. I don't think they're sensitive to mothers. The director

helped two men get an extension on the Fellowship but not myself and another woman. The issue of my having a child came up."

Sexism on the professors' part is perhaps best summarized by this woman's statement: "One professor seemed to think there was something wrong with me because I wasn't married."

The lack of mentors or a professional networking system reported in previous studies (Acevedo & Escobedo, 1981; Centra, 1974; Hartsock, 1974; Tidball, 1974) was felt by the women interviewed for this study. The following comments summarize their perceptions:

S1: "You have less opportunities as far as getting into cliques and projects going on."

S2: "Our universities are male-oriented and controlled. The men were facilitated through social contact with male professors."

S3: "Especially in the bilingual classes you have the 'compadre syndrome.' Research assistantships in bilingual education usually went to males."

From the review of the comments on the two above variables, it seems that there may be an interaction effect between ethnicity and sex. It was difficult for some of the women to distinguish clearly whether problems or stresses encountered in the doctoral program were linked to being women or being a Chicana or both. For example, the women who mentioned "traditional roles and stereotypes" seemed to be unsure whether they were being stereotyped or cast in the traditional roles of women in general or specifically those of Mexican-American women.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Because the population studied is a small and unique group, many of the variables yielded results that show no strong relationships between graduating and dropping out. This is not unusual when such groups are studied. Statistical analyses alone cannot present a clear picture of what happens to such a population in the doctoral process. Descriptive statistics also need to be incorporated to clarify and refine what statistical tests alone do not show.

The following can be concluded about the Chicanas interviewed for this study:

1. There is a significant relationship between marital status and completion of or dropout from the Title VII Doctoral Fellowship

Program. These data indicate, as does previous research (Bean & Creswell, 1980; Feldman, 1974; Halleck, 1976; Patterson & Sells, 1973), that married women are less likely to complete a doctoral program than women who are not married.

2. Age and number of dependents are not statistically significant for Chicanas in determining graduation from or dropout from the Fellowship Program. There is a difference between graduates and dropouts, though, in number of dependents. Sixty-three percent of the 30 graduates had no dependents, while only 30 percent of the 20 dropouts had no dependents.

3. The perception of racism experienced while in the doctoral program was not statistically significant in affecting graduation or attrition rates. However, 21 percent of all the women interviewed felt that they were victims of racism while in the doctoral program.

4. There is no statistical difference between graduates and dropouts regarding perception of sexism. But 56 percent of the total population perceived that they were victims of sexism while in the fellowship program.

Based upon the findings of the present study, it seems that graduate faculties should be attuned to the special needs and problems of women, and especially of ethnic minority women, in their doctoral programs. These needs and problems include the following:

—that professors not have lower levels of expectations for ethnic minority women;
—that assertiveness is not a sign of a woman's undermining the professor's authority;
—that sexual harassment either in the form of inappropriate comments regarding marital status, clothing, body size/shape, or actual passes made at women be stopped;
—that equitable distribution of research and teaching assistantships between the sexes be ensured;
—that women, especially single mothers, often have added responsibilities at home to attend to.

The doctoral process has enough stress built into it without the added burden of sexist and/or racist behavior among professors.

Further recommendations that appear to be supported by this study include the following:

1. Because of future cuts in the funding of Title VII Doctoral Programs and to ensure educational equity, the universities

that have relied on Title VII funds should take immediate steps to institutionalize the bilingual education doctoral programs.

2. The review of the literature suggests, and the results of the present study appear to support, that it is important for women and ethnic minority students to have role models with whom they can identify. Therefore, it is recommended that universities make a sincere attempt to employ and promote ethnic minority and women faculty members so that minority and female graduate students have an opportunity to have role models.
3. The universities that have had a high rate of success in graduating Title VII Fellows should be studied for traits or characteristics of those universities that have contributed to the success of their students.

Until 1984, very few, if any, studies of the perceived effects of sexism and racism on Chicanas' doctoral work had been undertaken. Future similar studies should be conducted with women of other Hispanic groups to compare Hispanic women's rates of completion of doctoral programs. Similar studies should also be conducted that include Chicano (male) subjects to compare the Chicano doctoral study experience to that of Chicanas.

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A Comparison of Bilingual Education Policies and Practices in Perú and the United States

Liliana Minaya-Rowe

This paper compares the development of bilingual education policies and practices in the United States and Perú. It presents the legal framework of the Peruvian and American policies, the processes of their establishment, and their bilingual program implementation. It also provides the sociocultural and historical circumstances out of which the policies grew and which bilingual programs reflect. Included is a historical review of how the languages and their speakers produced the situations toward which policies and practices now respond. Finally, this paper presents implications for long-term results in terms of the final linguistic state of the societies and the degree of mutual versus unidirectional influence of the languages involved.

Although in the history of the pluralistic societies of the world, multilingualism has been a frequent occurrence in social life, in modern nation states the ideas of public language policy and publicly sponsored bilingual education practices are relatively new (Bratt Paulston, 1980; Leibowitz, 1982; Ogbu and Matute-Bianchi, 1986). Such policies and practices have been motivated by diverse political, social, and ideological considerations in different countries; have been received variously; and have produced different outcomes in the societies involved.

This paper deals with how multilingualism is handled in two societies: Perú and the United States; how these two countries

generated their public language policies; and how they are sustaining bilingual education practices. Although it is not intended to provide a thorough cross-cultural review of bilingual education policies and practices here, this paper presents a comparison of the bilingual education policies and programs and the sociocultural circumstances surrounding them. Both programs and the policies they reflect were established approximately contemporaneously, but inasmuch as they emerged from radically different sociocultural-political circumstances, they may make an interesting comparison.

I will begin by looking at the legal frameworks of the Peruvian and the United States bilingual education policies and programs, the processes of their establishment, and their implementation. Because these two programs do not exist in a vacuum—that is, unrelated to any sociocultural matters—and because this review will show increasing divergence between the two programs the further I proceed from purely legal frameworks, I will then provide a look at the sociocultural—including the historical—contexts out of which each program grew and which each, of course, reflects. Finally, I will consider some of the differential effects each program is having in light of its stated aims and inferable long-term goals.

LEGAL FRAMEWORKS AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS

The legal frameworks of the United States and Peruvian bilingual programs look quite similar on the surface. They reflect deliberate efforts by both governments to affect language education and the functions of the languages spoken in each country (Ogbu, 1983). In the United States, the current national Bilingual Education Act, which was set in 1965, "gives official federal and/or state sanction or recognition to providing special educational services to limited English proficient (LEP) or non-English proficient (NEP) students" (Public Law 95-561, as amended in 1978, p. 1). Likewise, the Peruvian legal framework for bilingual education, which was set in place in 1972, instructed the Ministry of Education to "provide instruction in their own language to students who come to school speaking little or no Spanish" (Education Law of 1972, p. 12). However, if one looks at the processes—the means by which these laws came to be in the two countries—one begins to see the tip of the iceberg of sociocultural-historical differences involved.

In the United States, although there have been scattered historical instances—usually private but occasionally public—of bilingual education programs in bilingual communities, the initial national sanction for such programs came through the Bilingual Education Acts of 1968, 1974, 1978, and 1981 (Leibowitz, 1982; Padilla, 1983). These Acts had been stimulated by the court challenges brought by citizens or citizens' groups claiming discrimination on the basis of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The 1964 Civil Rights Act, in turn, had been engendered by court decisions brought by plaintiffs claiming discrimination on the basis of violations of their rights to equal educational opportunity as guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

In other words, there would be *no* bilingual education policies and practices and probably only private or miniscule public bilingual education programs in the United States were it not for the individual efforts of private citizens challenging an existing state of social affairs in relation to an abstract principle voiced in the Constitution. Furthermore, it is evident that not just one challenge and not just one precedent-setting decision would have been sufficient to establish bilingual education policies and programs nationally in the United States. This process has had to be repeated in the various localities where bilingualism or non-English monolingualism (for instance, Spanish monolingualism or Chinese monolingualism) is present. The first court decisions led Congress to pass the education act that directed the establishment of bilingual education programs. However, even with the law on the books, subsequent actions have been necessary to get programs started in specific localities or to challenge the validity of the program of a specific local school district as conforming to the aims of the court-directed mandate. Currently, we can see a secondary process with the incorporation of state policies for implementation of the acts. In some states, state education agencies have taken the responsibility of identifying target populations for bilingual education programs (Leibowitz, 1980).

Thus, the establishment of bilingual education policies and practices in the United States has taken several stages described above and depicted in Figure 1.

The conditions surrounding and the factors motivating the inception of current bilingual education policies and programs in Perú have been quite different from those just outlined for the

Court decision establishes precedent and directive for bilingual education
Congress passes bilingual education acts
State education departments initiate programs (identify LEP/NEP students)
Local districts establish bilingual education programs
Private legal action is taken against civil rights violation

Figure 1. The Establishment of Bilingual Education Policies and Programs in the United States

United States. The first major difference is that the initiatives for establishing the present programs came solely from the central government and not from court actions initated by individual citizens on the basis of violated civil rights. Prior to the Peruvian Education Act of 1972, there were no legal suits brought by citizens or citizen groups claiming that their basic rights to equal educational opportunity had been violated by the failure of the school to teach in their native language. There is, in fact, no law in Perú comparable to the United States Civil Rights Act of 1964. Nor is there anything equivalent to the United States Constitution's Fourteenth Amendment.

Although there has been a tradition of positive government policy toward bilingual education programs in Perú, in order to account for the current motivation to establish such comprehensive bilingual education and the innovative form those programs are taking, we must look solely at the sociopolitical ideology of the Peruvian governments of the 1970s, which included the following as goals of the society:

1. The achievement of political, economic, and cultural independence in the international community.

2. The consequent necessity of the sociopolitical integration of the heretofore unintegrated nonmestizo populations as a means of achieving the first goal.

In other words, to become an economically developed, technologically advanced nation, the current Peruvian government believes that it cannot do without having a polity—that is, a national citizenry—that includes all sectors of the population. In order to achieve this second goal, it was thought necessary to better integrate the populations linguistically, and consequently, to establish a new bilingual education policy and program through a bilingual education act (Escobar, 1972, 1978).

Thus we can visualize the process of institutionalization of the current bilingual education policies and practices in Perú, in contrast to those of the United States, as depicted in Figure 2. Not only is there a great difference between the United States and Perú in the way bilingual education policies and practices get initiated, but these differences can also be seen in the implementation and administration of bilingual education programs in at least two ways. First, in the United States, the responsibility for initiating bilingual education programs rests with the state education agencies and local school boards. In Perú, however, the decision to establish a bilingual education program in any given community is made by the central government after it has undertaken research and reconnaissance to determine the needs of the local communities. Second, related to this fact is the way in which the federal government and local school districts participate in programs already underway. In the United States, the major objective of the federal government is funding, as both Molina (1978) and González (1978) have mentioned. Funding is provided, of course, not only at the initiative of a school district or individual (for example, for a demonstration research project on bilingual education). But in Perú, the responsibility of the central government, through the Ministry of Education, extends to planning and administering the entire program. The government does not give funds to local school districts and individuals to administer; it administers them.

In Perú, there is a curriculum of bilingual education established centrally by the Ministry of Education. This situation differs in two ways from the situation in the United States. First, in the United States the curriculum for bilingual education consists of the same courses as the regular curriculum, but it is

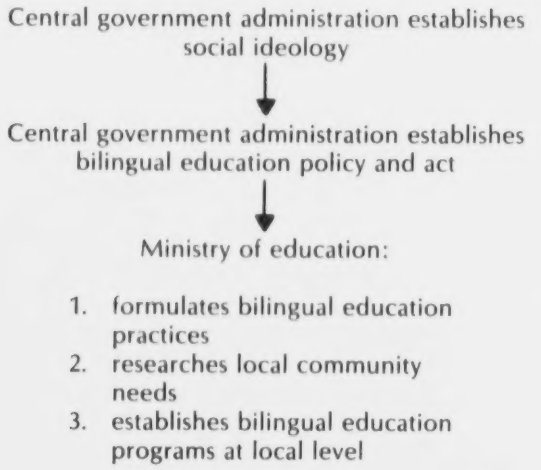
Central government administration establishes social ideology
Central government administration establishes bilingual education policy and act
Ministry of education:
1. formulates bilingual education practices
2. researches local community needs
3. establishes bilingual education programs at local level

Figure 2. The Establishment of Bilingual Education Policies and Programs in Perú

taught in the students' native language, and as such, it is an adjunct program. In Perú, however, the bilingual education curriculum is at the core of the program. Second, in the United States the bilingual education program is thought of as remedial, much like the Head Start Program, for students who are linguistically disadvantaged and in some way culturally "lacking." In Perú, the program is thought of as augmenting the set of language skills that students already have from their native community.

Thus in the United States, there is wide variation in the kinds and quality of bilingual education programs from one state to another; and from school district to school district—for example, in terms of how the student's native language will or will not be maintained and how his or her second language, English, will be developed—because the initiative in both establishing and planning the programs is left in the hands of local school district officials (Bratt Paulston, 1980). As a result, within the system, in the United States, room is left for further litigation if the program does not meet the minority language community's felt civil rights to equal educational opportunity.

It might seem from this description that the Peruvian case is totally centralized and might produce programs that are inflexible

in response to local needs. But when we compare the criteria for qualifying teachers and selecting materials, it seems otherwise. In the Peruvian system, a teacher in the bilingual education program (for example, Quechua-Spanish) must (1) be a native speaker of Quechua; (2) have been born and raised in the region; (3) be a fluent Spanish speaker, graduated from college, and accredited as a teacher; and (4) have taught at least five years in rural areas of the region. In addition, in Perú, the creation and selection of instructional materials in the different localities are responsibilities of the local bilingual program teachers and teacher trainers. This process allows for teaching flexibility, which corresponds to the area dialects.

In order to see the differences between the meaning of bilingual education policies and practices in the two societies, we need to examine the relative status of the languages involved. In the United States there is, of course, just one official, national language—English—and numerous nonofficial languages. In Perú in 1975, Quechua was made a national language, equal with Spanish. In concrete terms, this meant the following:

1. An official alphabetic writing system was adopted for Quechua and a commitment was made to incorporate a Quechua literacy program as part of the bilingual education program. This part of the program necessitated researching and preparing six reference grammers and dictionaries for the six major dialect areas of Quechua spoken in the country (Ministry of Education, 1976).
2. Local and regional newspapers have been made bilingual in Quechua and Spanish. That is, there are articles in Quechua in the areas of national interest—ideology, education, agriculture, industry, and commerce.
3. Daily and weekly local, regional, and national radio programs in Quechua are available on the news, in music, and in festivities.

An initial response to these differences between the two bilingual education policies and practices might be to say that of course the programs are different because they grew out of totally different circumstances surrounding bilingualism in the two countries. That is, one might say that because the contact situation in Perú has been predominantly between two languages only—Spanish and Quechua—it is more easily resolved than in a situation like that of the United States. In the latter, there have been only small pockets of monolingual and bilingual minorities

speaking a wide range of languages in addition to English, while the vast majority of the polity is English monolingual. Thus we could not reasonably expect that an official status equal to English could be given to any of the multitude of minority languages spoken in the United States.

However, the differences between facts of formal structure involving the bilingual education policies and practices and their operation in Perú and the United States, between statuses of the languages involved, and between relative distribution of monolingual and bilingual populations are not all the differences we can account for. If we look more closely at the sociocultural-historical differences between the two societies, we will see how the history of the languages and their speakers produced both the situations toward which bilingual education policies and practices now respond and the terms of thinking that led to these responses.

SOCIOCULTURAL-HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF LANGUAGE CONTACT AND ATTITUDES

The United States Case

If we had a motion picture cartograph of the language distribution and contact in North America corresponding roughly to the geographical boundaries of the United States from the initial stages of European immigration through the present, we would have something like the following.

The initial stage is characterized by intrusive European language communities—English, Spanish, French, Dutch, and so forth—during the 17th and 18th centuries, in contact with American Indian languages in various, often widely-separated locations. After the initial stage, English is made the official national language of the newly formed political entity occupying the eastern seaboard and extending increasingly inland during the 18th and 19th centuries. During this period, we can see three important processes occurring. First, the American Indian languages in contact with English begin to disappear from an ever-expanding area. Most simply cease to be spoken, though a few, like Cherokee, move westward to escape the inevitable results of the contact. Second, formation continues on a large scale of what is to become the only other major variant of English: Black English. Black English is a result of convergence developed from a different language base (Labov, 1969). The emergence of Black English could be observed throughout the southern half of the United States. Third, there is a gradual yielding of other

European language communities to the pervasiveness of English as those communities become increasingly incorporated into the United States polity. This process can be seen in areas like Florida, the southern parts of the Louisiana Purchase, and the Dutch-speaking portions of New York.

A new kind of contact situation intensified during the late 19th and 20th centuries, between established communities of English speakers and groups of newly-arrived speakers of other languages: Norwegian, Italian, German, Swedish, Polish, Yiddish, Chinese, Japanese, and so forth. In these cases, we can see initially non-English monolingualism, usually shifting to one-and-a-half generational bilingualism and finally to English monolingualism.

However, some groups of immigrants, for example Chinese speakers and some Yiddish speakers, had continuous immigration and a localized community; consequently, their languages have remained with rather more stable bilingualism (Ogbu & Matute-Bianchi, 1986).

In addition, the westward expansion of the late 19th century continued its eradicatory contact with American Indian languages and brought new contact with older, established communities of non-English speakers, most notably the Spanish speakers of the West and the Southwest.

Thus currently, we have not one but a large number of different social processes reflected in the various bilingual situations extant in the United States: the English-Black English contact situation; contact with the remaining, though numerically attenuated, American Indian language communities; and situations like the English-Spanish or English-Chinese contact where the nonofficial language has a long history within the United States and where there is a wide range of dialects in which it is spoken (Guthrie, 1983; Sánchez, 1983).

In understanding the plastic reshaping of processes of change in the United States language contact scene over the last 300 years, we must understand the attitudes about language that reflect social concepts of "humanness" on the part of members of, especially, the sociopolitically dominant English-speaking community. We have seen in United States society overall an almost entirely one-way dominance of English in language use. This may be due to three factors. First, there is a great sensitivity toward language use. That is, there is no casualness toward which language one uses in the United States. It is very

important to speak the "proper" language. Secondly, that attitude is supported by the feeling that there is only one acceptable language—English. Monolingualism is accepted as a normal situation in the United States. Being a non-English speaker in the United States society has meant being socially not quite as acceptable as the native English speakers. Third, there is, and has been historically, almost no structural effect on English of the various languages involved in the different kinds of contact situations (Hernández-Chávez, 1984).

The Peruvian Case

In contrast to the situation in the United States, in Perú both the nature of the bilingual situation and the conditions of contact relations between the language communities have been different.

Although the indigenous populations of the area that is now Perú represent a number of culturally distinct groups, speaking about 45 languages of 10 linguistic families—in a population of 4 million, 3.5 million speak Quechua and approximately 500,000 speak other languages (Oficina Nacional, 1974)—two historical factors have served to reduce the present situation to one of contact between two major languages. First, Quecha was the native language spoken by the largest number of people indigenous to the Andean area before European contact. Second, Quechua was the official language of the Inca Empire, and by virtue of this fact, had developed as a lingua franca over the entire area of what is now Ecuador, Perú, Colombia, Chile, and Argentina. Thus the bilingualism of Peruvian contact has involved ideologically only two languages: Spanish and Quechua.

This fact has had two important results. Although Spanish is currently monolingually spoken by a majority of the 16 million Peruanos, they represent only a slim majority of 60 percent. Quechua, on the other hand, is monolingually spoken by a large minority of 25 percent. An additional 21 percent of the population are bilingual Quechua-Spanish speakers (Oficina Nacional, 1974). However, these figures, which are for the entire country, are somewhat misleading, because of the geographical distribution of the languages. Most of the monolingual Spanish speakers are concentrated in the coastal areas. If we look at the southern highlands districts, the percentage of monolingual Quechua speakers rises to between 87 and 95 percent, and the number of bilingual Quechua-Spanish speakers correspondingly drops to between 5 and 15 percent (Escobar, 1978; Escobar, Matos

Mar, & Alberti, 1975). This contrasts dramatically with the distribution of bilingualism in the United States.

In order to understand further the current situation and attitudes toward bilingualism in Perú, we must also look at the historical development of relationships between the different social groups involved. The current situation with respect to both language distribution and bilingual education policies and practices arises from the historical development of social ideology and attitudes toward other languages prevailing in the contact situation (Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, 1983; Wachtel, 1973).

First of all, the Spanish colonizers of Perú did consider the native inhabitants of the area. While from our contemporary perspective, we would not applaud the Spanish colonists' aim of subjugating the native population, it produced a different kind of outcome from that occurring in the North American case. First, it meant that some degree of relationship was possible between the two populations. Second, it meant that the native populations were accorded a degree of human identity. This situation was augmented by the proselytizing aims of the Catholic Church. Furthermore, the fact that Quechua was the language of a socially complex, stratified, expansive theocratic state—the Inca Empire—allowed the Iberian colonists to accord it a degree of prestige that the North American colonists did not give to any of the native languages they encountered.

If we had a motion picture cartograph of the language distribution and contact of the Peruvian situation over time and parallel to that just outlined for the United States, we would see an initial stage of intrusive European colonization during the late 16th and 17th centuries between a group of Iberian Spanish speakers (socially *españoles*) and speakers of Quechua and other indigenous languages (socially *nativos*).

The period from the 17th through the 18th centuries saw a gradual, though expanding, social merging of the original populations—*españoles* and *nativos*. The social product of these two original ethnic categories was the emergence of a new socioethnic category: the *mestizo*.

Finally, the political revolutions of the 19th century saw the establishment of a national identity—*peruano*—which is distinct from that of the inhabitants of the Iberian Peninsula. This period also marks the continued growing emergence of and cultural dominance by the socioethnic category of *mestizo*. This fact was accompanied by the parallel development of a national lan-

guage—Peruvian Spanish—that became increasingly distinct from Iberian Spanish. Peruvian Spanish is a hybrid language, a result of the long, stable, and intense contact between, initially, Iberian Spanish and Quechua. Peruvian Spanish is strongly marked by Quechua syntax and phonology. This process has continued and intensified during the 20th century.

Figures 3 and 4 exemplify, in the first columns, some of the terms for socioethnic categories of persons in the United States and Perú and, in the second columns, the way in which these correspond to language identities. In the United States the term "American" has two meanings: (1) one of national identity; and (2) that ethnic category of citizens who are tokens par excellence of the identity, that is, not members of any other of the many "foreign" ethnic groups. The national language, English, is the language identity of the group. In Perú, on the other hand, the inclusive term for national identity, *peruano*, does not correspond to any of the terms designating the narrower ethnic identities. Also, the national language identities are multiple. That is, both Spanish and Quechua speakers are *peruanos*.

The existence in Perú of the socioethnic category *mestizo*, the social product of *españoles* (a category which no longer is present in Peruvian society) and *nativos*, contrasts with the situation in the United States. In the United States there is no socioethnic category of persons that is the social product of two or more categories. Although the word *mestizo* does occur in English, it is a term for a racial category with no socioethnic implications. That is, in the United States, a person who is a racial mestizo has the ethnic identity of one or the other parent.

IMPLICATIONS FOR LONG-TERM EFFECTS OR RESULTS OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION POLICIES AND PRACTICES

In the previous sections, I have attempted to demonstrate the ways in which the sociocultural attitudes that members of language communities have toward language codes and their use are factors of overwhelming importance in determing the stance taken toward national bilingual education policies and practices. In this section, I consider the implications for long-term effects or results of these policies and programs as facets of the wider and ongoing language contact situations.

These results can be considered in terms of two dimensions: first, the final linguistic state of the societies, in terms of whether

	Ethnic Identity	Language
1.	American (national identity)	English
1.1	American	English
1.2	Mexican-American	(Mexican) Spanish (±English)
1.3	Chinese-American	Chinese (±English)
1.4	Italian-American	Italian (±English)
1.5	Japanese-American	Japanese (±English)
1.6	etc.	
1.7	American Indians	
1.7.1	Navajo	Navajo (±English)
1.7.2	Apache	Apache (±English)
1.7.3	etc.	

Figure 3. Taxonomy of Ethnic Categories of Social Person in the United States in Conjunction with Language Identities

they are to be bilingual or monolingual; and second, the degree of mutual versus unidirectional influence of the languages involved.

In the United States, bilingual education policies and practices have as their aim facilitating a transition from monlingualism in a non-English language (such as Spanish), through bilingualism on an individual level, to ultimate English monolingualism on the community level. Bilingualism is seen as transitional and the educational programs offered to LEP and NEP students are transitional bilingual education programs, with the ideal end being English monolingualism for the entire population.

In Perú, the aims of the bilingual education policies and practices, as officially stated, are not to produce a nation of monolingual Spanish speakers, but rather one of bilingual Spanish-Quechua speakers. Politicians may argue that such a situation is not a stable one—that there will inevitably be a stress toward Spanish monolingualism. I can cite those instances of currently existing multilingual nation states in the world, particularly those of Europe. Given that a significant minority of the population in Perú is currently Quechua monolingual and another large minority is Quechua-Spanish bilingual, the contexts in which Spanish is learned and used for most bilingual speakers are public ones, while Quechua remains for private

	Ethnic Identity	Language
1.	Peruano (national identity)	Spanish and/or Quechua
1.1	Mestizo	Spanish and/or Quechua
1.2	Nativo/campesino	
1.2.1	Quechua	Quechua
1.2.2	Aymara	Aymara
1.2.3	Campa	Campa
1.2.4	Aguaruna	Aguaruna
1.2.5	etc.	

Figure 4: Taxonomy of Ethnic Categories of Social Person in Perú in Conjunction with Language Identities

contexts. Also, inasmuch as there is no derogation of Quechua usage, it seems reasonable to expect that bilingual usage on the basis of different social functions for each code—much like the Swiss situation—may continue for a long time (Gumperz, 1982). Comparative figures from the 1961, 1972, and 1983 censuses in Perú present striking evidence that current language shifts are not in the direction of increasing Spanish monolingualism.

However, even should the ultimate language scene in Perú become one of Spanish monolingualism—and if so, in how many years?—the nature of the monolingualism involved would be quite different from the monolingualism in the United States. From the evidence available, it seems that, unlike English in the United States, Spanish in Perú has been and continues to be extensively influenced by Quechua (Escobar, 1978; Luján, Minaya, & Sankoff, 1983, 1984; Pozzi-Escot, 1972).

In the United States, it is a striking social fact that the non-English languages in the various contact situations have had almost no influence on English. This fact has been because of the attitudes toward language use in conjunction with the direction of bilingualism, that is, monolingual English speakers in contact with bilingual speakers of a native language plus English.

In Perú, bilingualism has proceeded in both directions. That is, there is both a native Spanish plus Quechua-as-a-second-language bilingualism and native Quechua plus Spanish-as-a-second-language bilingualism. The result has been that a distinctive national language has emerged: Peruvian Spanish. Peruvian Spanish is a national variant of a more universal

Spanish that consists of a range of speech styles, each manifesting different syntactic, phonological, and lexical influences from Quechua (Escobar, 1976, 1978).

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In conclusion, the aim of the language policies and practices in both the United States and Perú is the social integration of members of ethnic groups that have been in the past at least partially socially disenfranchised. However, the differences between the bilingual education policies and programs in the two societies, growing out of attitudes toward bilingualism versus monolingualism on the part of the socially dominant group in each society, reveal what each society feels is required in order to achieve that integration. In Perú, social integration is being achieved by extending higher status to the culturally second language, a process that simultaneously broadens the societal definition of each person. In the United States, on the other hand, the establishment and operation of bilingual education policies and programs have largely proceeded on the assumption that one can be a "real" member of American society only by becoming a monolingual English speaker, thus giving up one's native language and ethnic identity (Hernández-Chávez, 1984; Ogbu, and Matute-Bianchi, 1986).

We can see even from this comparison of the sociocultural-historical determinants of the attitudes in the United States toward non-English speakers that, because this attitude does not occur in all other societies, it is not a necessary adjunct to bilingual education policies and practices. What would happen to the bilingual education in the United States if the monolingual and bilingual non-English speakers in our communities were not seen as "lesser Americans" and "linguistically disadvantaged?" What expansions in our thinking about ourselves as members of a national community would take place if we saw the native speakers of other languages in our communities as bringing a valuable resource to be shared in realizing the potential for the next generation for becoming multilingual in the other important languages of the world?

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A Survey of Bilingual Special Education Inservice Needs: Perceptions of Educators from a Rural State

Ofelia Miramontes, Leonard Baca, and Nancy Rowch

The issue of special education services for culturally and linguistically diverse (CLD) students is generally discussed in terms of geographic areas with large minority populations. CLD students in less populated states are also in need of special services. This study reports on a survey conducted to determine the perceived need of administrators, special educators and bilingual/ESL teachers for additional information and training on the special needs of CLD students. Although groups differed in their perceptions, the need for additional training in the area of bilingual special education was clearly established by survey responses. These needs were most intensely perceived by those charged directly with providing services to CLD students.

The difficulties in determining the existence of handicapping conditions among culturally and linguistically diverse (CLD) students have been extensively documented (Baca & Chinn 1982; Nuttall et al. 1984). In categories such as learning disabilities, emotional disturbance, and speech pathology, the outcomes of assessment for the determination of a handicapping condition are often inconclusive. As a result, reliance is made on the staffing group's "best judgment." In such cases, the awareness, knowledge, and skills of educators become crucial.

For CLD students, knowledge and skills involve an understanding of two important areas: first, family systems, values, and

mores, which may be different from those encountered in the culture of the school (Cole & Griffin, 1983; McDermott, 1980; Trueba, 1983); and second, linguistic development for students whose first language is other than English (Cummins, 1984; Miramontes, 1986). Over representation or underrepresentation of CLD students in special education is often the result of limited knowledge about, and experience with, appropriate classroom programs for CLD students (Baca, 1984).

The issue of special education services for CLD students is generally discussed in terms of geographic areas where there are large minority populations. However, the need for appropriate assessment and curriculum planning for such students is necessary wherever CLD students are part of the school population, regardless of the size of the population.

Safeguards for the identification and assessment of CLD students for Special Education are part of the PL 94-142 guidelines for all states. These guidelines require that when a child is evaluated, the instruments used must be appropriate and the testing nondiscriminatory. Assessment instruments must be validated for the specific purpose for which they are used, and shall be administered by trained personnel. Moreover, the development and implementation of the individualized education plan (IEP) must be accomplished with the full understanding and concurrence of the parents, and school districts must make provisions for interpreters, where necessary.

Additionally, for linguistically diverse students, Office of Civil Rights guidelines require that every district conduct language screenings to determine if there is an influence of a language other than English on the student. If such an influence is determined, a language assessment is conducted to determine language dominance and proficiency.

Nebraska is one of the less densely populated states that is working toward providing adequate and appropriate services for CLD students. Of its 977 public school districts, 45 districts reported populations of limited English proficient (LEP) students. A linguistic survey conducted for the state during the 1984-85 school year indicated approximately 1,150 LEP students (Nebraska Equal Education Opportunity Project, 1985). Although 28 languages were represented, 40 percent of this population was Spanish speaking. The next largest language groups represented were Lao and Vietnamese each with 14 percent. Additionally, American Indian students, most of whom do not speak their

tribal languages, are also an important part of the school population. These students are overrepresented in special education classes in reservation schools in the state (NEEOP, 1985), indicating possible misperceptions based on cultural differences.

Although Nebraska has no state-mandated legislation for bilingual education or English as a second language instruction (ESL), the Omaha Public Schools offer bilingual instruction in K-3 for Spanish and Vietnamese speakers. Additionally, Gordon Elementary, in Gordon, Nebraska, has a Title VII funded bilingual program for Lakota Sioux students. Three other districts offer ESL instruction with Hispanic native language instructors. All of the programs are transitional in nature.

METHOD

In order to determine the perceived need for additional information and inservice with regard to CLD students, a survey was conducted in Nebraska. Three major groups of educators: administrators, special educators, and bilingual/ESL teachers were asked to rate items in four categories in terms of the degree of need for inservice training. Data from the survey were analyzed to determine the degree of perceived need for bilingual special education inservice training in a rural state.

SAMPLE POPULATION

Five hundred thirty five school district personnel representing 39 schools in 21 districts were included in the survey. Only districts with large numbers of LEP students were chosen to receive the survey and specific schools with LEP populations were targeted.

Ten distinct job categories within the three groups were included in the survey. The administrative group was composed of superintendents (12), principals (85), and the directors of special education (18). The special education group included counselors (99), psychologists/diagnosticians (38), speech pathologists (52), and special education teachers (207). The teacher group included English as a Second Language (16) and Bilingual Education (6) teachers.

SURVEY INSTRUMENT

The three educator groups were asked to rate questions in four categories in terms of their degree of need for inservice training.

The categories were Identification and Assessment; Program Planning/Curriculum; School/Community Relations; and Other. The Identification and Assessment category explored the need for inservice training on the process of identification and referral, the use of a variety of nonbiased assessment procedures, and guidelines for distinguishing differences from disabilities. The Program Planning and Curriculum items focused on appropriate academic interventions for CLD and CLD exceptional students, and the need for coordination among service providers. The School/Community items were directed toward the need to help parents become more active and informed about their children's program. The fourth category, labeled Other, included items on the need for information in first and second language acquisition, special education legislation, and cognitive development in first and second language. Table 1 lists the item for each of the four major categories.

Respondents were asked to rate each item on a four-point scale of perceived need that ranged from "great need" rated 1, and "no need," rated 4. In order to compare the differences in perceptions between groups, responses for each personnel category were tallied separately on each question. Answers were then combined for each of the three personnel groups for the final analysis. An Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) was used to determine differences between groups for each question. A Scheffé procedure was conducted to determine specific intergroup comparisons where ANOVAs indicated significant differences between groups.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Results of the data indicated that all groups agreed on the need ("some" to "great") for information on all items in all categories. The perception of need for inservice information in the area of bilingual special education was therefore established. Significant differences were indicated between the three groups of educators: administrative, special education, and bilingual/ESL.

In all but four of the 15 items (1.1, 1.2, 1.3 and 3.1), the administrative group's perceived inservice needs were significantly different from those of both the special educators and the bilingual/ESL teachers (Table 2). In each of these cases, administrators saw less need for inservice training than did the other two groups. An analysis of the subgroups within the administrative group (superintendents, principals and special education directors) indicated that for all items, 70-80 percent of

Table 1.

Summary of Needs Assessment Categories Evaluated by Survey Questionnaire

1.0	IDENTIFICATION AND ASSESSMENT
1.1	Identification of LEP students who may be in need of Special Education services
1.2	Prereferral process of LEP students who may be in need of special education services
1.3	Referral process for LEP students who may be in need of special education placement
1.4	Nonbiased assessment of LEP children in special education placement
1.5	Language assessment testing of LEP students
1.6	Informal and nontraditional assessment of LEP exceptional students
1.7	Cultural characteristics of LEP students; distinguishing differences from deficiencies
2.0	PROGRAM PLANNING CURRICULUM
2.1	Coordination of Special Education and Bilingual Education/ESL for LEP handicapped children
2.2	Educational program planning for handicapped LEP students
2.3	Curriculum adaptation for handicapped LEP students
3.0	SCHOOL COMMUNITY
3.1	Providing information to LEP parents in the native language
3.2	Involving parents of LEP students in the special education assessment, placement and program decisions
4.0	OTHER
4.1	First and second language acquisition of LEP student
4.2	Special education legislation and the LEP student
4.3	Theories of cognitive development and implications for LEP students

superintendents' responses indicated "no need" for inservice training in contrast to 30 percent or less "no need" responses by principals and special education directors.

In the Identification and Assessment category, the need for information on the identification, prereferral, and referral of LEP students needing special education (items 1.1, 1.2, and 1.3) was significantly less important to both administrators and special educators than to bilingual/ESL teachers. On the other hand, for items 1.4 through 1.7 (dealing with assessment and evaluation *per se*), special educators shared the bilingual/ESL teachers' concerns for inservice training. Inconsistency in the special educators' responses on these two sets of items may reflect their perception of the first three items as being procedural rather than substantive. Their greater familiarity with special education procedures may also be indicated.

Table 2.

Summary Data for the Nebraska Bilingual Special Education Inservice Needs Questionnaire

Item	Administrators Means	Special Educators Means	Bilingual/ESL Teachers Means	*df*	*F*	Significant ($p < .05$) Group Contrasts[a]
1.1	2.73	2.49	1.77	2,527	7.50	1,2 vs 3
1.2	2.83	2.64	2.00	2,518	5.99	1,2 vs 3
1.3	2.83	2.62	1.85	2,518	7.82	1,2 vs 3
1.4	2.79	2.28	1.68	2,515	13.24	1 vs 2,3
1.5	2.56	2.14	2.05	2,521	6.62	1 vs 2,3
1.6	2.70	2.34	1.68	2,518	10.10	1 vs 2,3
1.7	2.54	2.13	1.82	2,520	7.92	1 vs 2,3
2.1	2.56	2.35	1.86	2,532	3.76	1 vs 2,
2.2	2.60	2.30	1.82	2,527	6.38	1 vs 2,3
2.3	2.56	2.26	1.90	2,524	4.94	1 vs 2,3
3.1	2.61	2.23	2.23	2,520	5.30	1 vs 2
3.2	2.62	2.37	1.95	2,521	4.65	1 vs 2,3
4.1	2.78	2.48	2.09	2,514	6.05	1 vs 2,3
4.2	2.94	2.58	2.14	2,519	7.80	1 vs 2,3
4.3	2.78	2.50	1.95	1,517	6.83	1 vs 2,3

Note. Respondents' ratings of items to reflect degree of need for inservice information: 1 = great, 2 = average, 3 = some, and 4 = no need.

[a] Group 1 = Administrators, Group 2 = Special Educators, Group 3 = Bilingual/ESL Teachers.

In the area of Program Planning and Curriculum, the personnel closest to the instructional program of the students felt a greater need for coordination, program planning, and curriculum adaptation. There was no significant difference between special educators and bilingual/ESL teachers in their perceptions of level of need in these areas.

When School/Community Relations were considered, administrators and special educators were significantly different in their perceptions of the need for providing information to LEP parents in the native language. Special educators reflected a greater need for training in this area. Because of the variance in the bilingual/ESL group on this question, it was not significantly different from either of the other two. The variance for this group is accounted for, in part, by the smaller number of individuals sampled ($N = 22$).

The final category, labeled "Other," related to first and second language acquisition, special education legislation, and the cognitive development of LEP students. Results reflected the pattern of the other categories. Special educators and bilingual/ESL teachers indicated "average" to "great" need for inservice

training on all three items. Administrators' perceptions were significantly different from those of the other two groups, with administrators indicating less need for information in this area.

CONCLUSIONS

The significant affirmative response by educators for additional information across all categories indicated a need for comprehensive and interdisciplinary inservice training. In states where CLD populations are smaller, and resources may be less plentiful, the need for coordination and interdisciplinary dialogue is particularly important.

In order to accomplish this, inservice programs must offer participants information and interaction at a variety of levels. Inservice programs should provide participants basic background information requiring understanding and articulation across program levels, sessions that specifically address particular specialty groups, and sessions that allow the interdisciplinary interchange of information across specialties. Such sessions can be planned around case studies, which can serve to focus discussions. Participants would then be able to share information and test their skills within a real world context.

The perceived need for inservice training in the area of bilingual special education was clearly established by the responses to the Nebraska needs survey. Additional training in all four survey categories (Identification and Assessment; Program Planning/Curriculum; School/Community Relations; and Other: first and second language acquisition/cognitive development, and special education legislation) was indicated by all three groups. It is evident that even in this low incidence state, educators were very much aware of the need to refine services for CLD students. The data also indicated that inservice needs were more intensely perceived by those who work most closely with students on a daily basis. This finding highlights the importance of communication between administrators and teachers to ensure that classroom needs are met.

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The Interaction between Families of Culturally Diverse Handicapped Children and the School

Anne Gallegos and Roberto Gallegos

Chinn, Winn, and Walters (1978) wrote that the family is the training place where a child learns how to relate to other people. They noted that parents play a particularly crucial role in development when a child is handicapped. Shea and Bauer (1984) suggested that the reaction of family members to the birth and presence of a handicapped child may affect the personal, social, and intellectual growth of the child, as well as influence familial participation in school/community efforts aimed at addressing the handicap. Baca and Cervantes (1984) described recent studies on families of handicapped children as being predominantly related to reactions expressed by Anglo-American parents. Citing research by Marion and McCaslin (1979), they stated that until recently, it was assumed that all parents of handicapped children experienced similar reactions, including: projection of blame, guilt, denial, sorrow or mourning, withdrawal, and reflection. On the contrary, Marion and McCaslin (1978) suggested that feelings of acceptance and protection of the handicapped child are more common among families who have extended family networks, as is the case within many culturally diverse communities—particularly Mexican American and black. Marion (1982) has reported that several researchers (Billingsly, 1968; Cole, 1967; Hill, 1972) implied that traditional views of parental acceptance have additionally disregarded the role of religion and the feelings of acceptance and security religion creates in the lives of culturally diverse families. Other variables such as socioeconomic status, the severity of the handicap, and parental attitudes

about childrearing also seem to intersect with culture to create varying perceptions about the status of a disabled child.

The implication that arises from the studies of parental reaction to handicaps is that the feelings of culturally diverse families about their child's handicap have not been adequately addressed in the literature, and that their implications for familial involvement with school and service agencies are relatively unexplored. By law (Public Law 94-142, the Education for all Handicapped Children Act, 1975) and in theory, the purpose of special education is to provide an appropriate education to all handicapped children. Fuchigami (1980) stated that in order to provide an appropriate education to culturally diverse handicapped children, careful consideration must be given to cultural and linguistic influences that might affect student and parent performance in a variety of social and educational situations.

Marion (1982) reported that parents of culturally diverse handicapped children have been dismayed at the overinclusion of their children in special education classes. Although Public Law 94-142 requires that parents be involved in the diagnosis, placement, and treatment of their handicapped children, culturally diverse parents often feel unaware and uninformed about *why* the school has chosen to identify the child as disabled and *how* the system goes about processing the child. (Baca & Cervantes, 1984). Marion (1982) described these parents as often feeling "desperate and confused" by the educational system in general and special education procedures in particular.

Due to the apparent need for additional information related to understanding the perceptions and concerns of parents of culturally diverse handicapped children, a study involving 12 families (6 Anglo and 6 Hispanic) that had children placed in special education classes was conducted in a southern New Mexico community. The purpose of the study was to examine parent perceptions about their children's performance at home and school, the role of the school in educating their children, and interactions with the educational system. The remainder of this paper will address the methodology used in the study, its results, and implications for future research and programming efforts.

METHODOLOGY

The study was initiated in several steps: selection of a location, formation of an interview guide, identification of families to

interview, conducting of interviews in the home, and the organization and interpretation of data.

Location

Because of its ethnic composition, and because of the large number of culturally diverse students placed in special education classes in its district, a community in southern New Mexico was selected as the site for research. In the district, which is located 50 miles from the Mexican border, nearly 50 percent of the children enrolled are Hispanic. Representation of Spanish-speaking children in special education programs is almost 80 percent. Bilingual education programs are available in only 2 out of 15 elementary schools. The study site was a university community, and its members are generally employed in agricultural, local, or small business endeavors, or are employed by the public school or college systems.

Development of the Interview Guide

Because it was the intent of the study to gather information based on the expression of feelings and beliefs about handicapping conditions and their implications, interviews were to be conducted in a nondirective, nonstandardized fashion. Guidelines for conducting interviews included the following:

1. Keep sessions informal.
2. Allow family members to express themselves openly and freely.
3. Spend approximately one hour with each family.
4. Audiotape all conversations.
5. Write personal observations notes after leaving the home.
6. Observe the sociological, linguistic, etc. environment of the home.
7. Remember that the goal of the interview is to better understand family perceptions and attitudes about their disabled child and to examine possible influences on the development of those feelings.

Although the interviewer was to be given no set questions to ask, she was instructed to cover certain major topic areas such as:

1. Age of child.
2. Grade, level, type of class of child.
3. Child's educational history.
4. Family members who live in the home.

5. Language spoken in the home.
6. Parents' interaction with the school.
7. Person at school parents most often contact.
8. Parents' description of the child's behavior at home.
9. Parents' description of the child's disability.
10. Age when problem was first noticed/diagnosed.
11. Places/persons parents have contacted for help.
12. Parents' ideas about cause of disability.
13. Child's relationship to other family members.
14. Child's interaction within community/neighborhood.
15. Parents' feelings about child's future.

Identification of Families to Interview

The general population to be addressed was parents of handicapped children. Because the study was descriptive (as opposed to experimental) in nature, nonprobability methods were used to select six Hispanic and six Anglo families who resided in the identified geographic area. Public school personnel (the Director of Special Education and school principals) were asked for recommendations on selecting participants. It was the intent of the researchers to identify families from various socioeconomic backgrounds with children of varying severities of handicap in the study. In addition, both parents, and where possible, siblings and extended family members were involved in data collection. A description of the families selected is included in Table 1.

Selection and Training of an Interviewer

The interviewer was selected on the bases of ethnicity, ability to speak the participant's language fluently, and on apparent interviewing ability. Training of the interviewer involved: reviewing and becoming familiar with the Interview Guide, discussing interview techniques and approach, and practicing the record-keeping procedures that would be used in the study. The interviewer selected was a Hispanic female, a former teacher who had been involved in previous qualitative research. She spent a total of six hours in being familiarized with the purpose of the study, the interview guidelines, and instructions for recording/transcribing the taped conversations.

Table 1

Description of Population Surveyed

	Ethnicity		Number of Children			Special Education Level[a]				Socioeconomic Status		
Family	Anglo	Hispanic	1-2	3-4	5+	A	B	C	D	Low	Middle	Upper
1		X			X			X			X	
2		X	X					X		X		
3		X	X						X	X		
4		X				X						
5	*	X					X			X		
6		X		X				X		X		
7	X			X			X			X		
8	X		X						X		X	
9	X		X				X				X	
10	X		X					X			X	
11	X		X						X		X	
12	X			X			X				X	

[a]A level involves the provision of services on an itinerant basis. B level is resource room service for 1 to 2 hours a day. C level requires that a child be in the special class at least 3 hours per day. D level serves more severe handicaps in one-half to full-day settings.

Conduct of On-Site Interviews

The interviewer was asked to conduct 12 one-hour interviews in the homes of identified families. Interviews were conducted in a nonstructured, nondirective fashion. In the nondirective interview, the initiative was basically taken by the respondent (Sellitz, Jahoda, Deutsch, & Cook, 1961). The interviewer, therefore, asked questions about topics included in the Interview Guide, but was instructed not to bias or direct the respondents to talk about their feelings and beliefs related to the handicapped child in the family. The interviewer was instructed to behave in a warm and permissive fashion, so that the participants would feel free to express themselves without fear of disapproval or dispute. The interviewer audiotaped all sessions on a cassette recorder. After each session, she additionally noted in writing descriptions of the home, family members involved in the interview, and other information that would provide a more accurate picture of the environment.

The Organization and Reporting of Data

The basic objective of reporting the data was to provide a rich description of parental perceptions of their handicapped children. Rogers (1984) referred to "thick description," implying it is the

wish of qualitative researchers to provide the "richest, fullest, most comprehensive" description possible for purposes of understanding a situation. Therefore, the interviewer provided the researchers with three types of data for descriptive purposes: recorded interviews, handwritten notes describing perceptions of the persons and environments involved, and oral discussions related to the interview experience.

An examination of the interview tapes, notes, and conversations resulted in the following summary of observations:

1. A majority of Hispanic families stated they did not understand much of the printed information that was sent home by the schools because it is written in English; report cards and IEPs were cited specifically.
2. When printed information was sent home in Spanish, several Hispanic families said that although they spoke and read the language, they did not comprehend technical terminology well.
3. A majority of Hispanic families often felt they should not question the decisions made by school personnel and frequently were not aware of the precise type of program their children attended.
4. Hispanic families stated they did not regularly involve themselves in school activities.
5. Hispanic families responded that the person they contacted most frequently about their children was the school principal.
6. Hispanic parents said they did not know why their children exhibited certain characteristics but tended to accept them as a part of their daily lives.
7. Hispanic families reported that they expected their children to perform designated chores and duties at home.
8. Anglo families could often label, although not describe, the type of special services their children were receiving.
9. Two Anglo families complained about some aspects of the organization of special services in the district. Specifically, they mentioned: noncategorical classrooms, multigrade level classrooms, and lack of communication between resource room and regular class personnel.
10. Several Anglo families reported having contacted several persons when seeking information about their children's progress. Specifically mentioned were the principal, nurse, teacher, and speech therapist.

11. Both Hispanic and Anglo families cited some difficulty in interpreting comprehending technical terminology presented at placement meetings and on printed information.
12. Both Hispanic and Anglo families felt children should be given more homework, although both groups admitted they could not always help the child with it.
13. Both Hispanic and Anglo families whose children were at B and C levels (of special education services) had a tendency to describe the children's problems but stated that they felt the child was not "abnormal" or "handicapped."
14. At B and C levels, both groups of parents stated they felt the child would "outgrow" their problems.
15. Only at the D level did parents apply a medical or educational term to the child's disability (Down Syndrome, hearing impairment, and trainable were used).
16. None of the parents could cite a definite cause for learning or behavior difficulties, although two parents described them as "una cosa de Dios" (God's will).
17. None of the parents expressed feelings of guilt or remorse.
18. Socioeconomic levels seemed to impact greatest on those families who felt certain apparatus or services that might be beneficial were unaffordable. (Hearing aids, medication, and special medical services were mentioned.)
19. Both groups at the B and C levels felt their children would be able to do whatever they wish as adults.

IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH AND PROGRAMMING

Based on the observations generated by the interviews, it seems that the following areas may be possibilities for exploration:

1. Intelligibility of school's oral and written language. Are report cards and program plans written so they will be comprehended by all parents?
2. Formality of school meetings and activities.
   Are meeting times, places, and agenda set with parents' needs in mind?
3. The role of the school principal.
   Is the principal the person most likely to be contacted by parents, and if so, is he or she well informed about special education services?
4. Parental expectations for children at home.
   Do they differ significantly from expectations at school?

5. Discrepancy between parent and school perception of the "disability."
   Do parents, in fact, think of their children as handicapped?
6. Variance in the perception of the function of the school.
7. Do some parents believe it is the school's role, not theirs, to make educational decisions?

Whatever the focus of future studies, research reported in the literature and indications from the present study seem to point to the need for considering the perceptions of families of culturally diverse handicapped children as different from those of Anglo parents. Moreover, it seems that not only should the thoughts, feelings, and attitudes of these families be considered as special, but their relationship to the school and its efforts at informing and communicating with them should be further explored.

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Assessing Limited English Proficient Students for Special Education

Mary Beth Ryan

This article reviews legislation and litigation concerning the rights of handicapped and LEP students, and examines the dilemma of providing fair, accurate, and adequate assessment for LEP students being considered for special education. The article also identifies a recent shift from overrepresentation of LEP students in special education to underrepresentation because of fear on the part of school systems of not being able to provide nonbiased assessment. Finally, this article explores various ways of dealing with the dilemma, emphasizing the need for a more nontraditional, multifaceted approach to assessment and for a willingness to use all available resources.

Assessing limited English proficient (LEP) students for special education is a complicated and controversial issue, one that has been the subject of federal and state legislation as well as landmark court decisions.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Two pieces of legislation that affect the education of all handicapped children are Section 504 of the Vocational Rehabilitation Act of 1973 and the Education of All Handicapped Children Act of 1975—Public Law 94-142.

Section 504 of the Vocational Rehabilitation Act of 1973 mandates that:

> No otherwise qualified handicapped individual in the United States shall, solely by the reason of his (her) handicap, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under programs or

> activities receiving federal financial assistance. (quoted in National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education, [NCBE] 1984, p. 3)

This civil rights mandate did not appropriate any funds for implementation of its regulations, but specified that "federal funds going to either a state or local education agency can be cut off should it be determined that they are in violation of compliance with the Act. All handicapped persons, regardless of age, are covered under the Act" (NCBE, 1984, p. 3).

Public Law 94-142 mandated the following for all handicapped children aged 3-21:

> It is the purpose of this act to assure that all handicapped children have available to them a free appropriate education and related services designed to meet their unique needs, to assure that the rights of handicapped children and their parents or guardians are protected, to assist states and localities to provide for the education of all handicapped children, and to assess and assure the effectiveness of efforts to educate handicapped children. (quoted in NCBE, 1984, p. 3)

This law did authorize funds, which are "made available to eligible states on a formula basis with subsequent flow through to the local education agencies (LEAs)" (NCBE, 198, p. 3).

Although neither law made specific mention of the responsibilities of educators to minority language populations, the federal regulations clearly stated that "testing and evaluation materials and procedures used for the purposes of evaluation and placement of handicapped children must be selected and administered so as not to be racially or culturally discriminatory" (Minsky, 1980, p. 5). In addition, the minimum mandatory requirements for evaluation addressed in Section 121a, 532, Evaluation Procedures, specified that materials and procedures:

> (1) Are provided and administered in the child's native language or other mode of communication unless it is clearly not feasible to do so;
> (2) Have been validated for the specific purpose for which they are used; and
> (3) Are administered by trained personnel in conference with the instructions provided by their producer;
> (b) Tests and other evaluation materials include those tailored to assess specific areas of educational need and not merely those which are designed to provide a single general intelligence quotient;
> (c) Tests are selected and administered so as best to ensure that when a test is administered to a child with impaired sensory, manual, or speaking skills, the test results accurately reflect the child's aptitude or achievement level or whatever other factors the test purports to measure, rather than reflecting the child's impaired sensory, manual, or speaking skills (except where those skills are the factors which the test purports to measure);
> (d) No single procedure is used as the sole criterion for determining an appropriate educational program for a child; and

(e) The evaluation is made by a multidisciplinary team or group of persons, including at least one teacher or other specialist with knowledge in the area of suspected disability.
(f) The child is assessed in all areas related to the suspected disability, including, where appropriate, health, vision, hearing, social and emotional status, general intelligence, academic performance, communicative status, and motor abilities. (quoted by Minsky, 1980, pp. 5-6)

Fineman and Ross reviewed the litigation and studies interpreting the legislation as follows:

> Recent years have seen numerous litigations based on language bias of test instruments which have been used to place children. The cases include: Arreola v. Santa Ana Board of Education, Diana v. California Board of Education, and Covarrubias v. San Diego Unified School District (C.O.R.R.C., 1977). Most of the litigation is concerned with the fact that bilingual students are not represented in the normative samples of diagnostic tests (Sattler, 1974).
>
> A test is only valid to the extent that the items of the test are as common to each child tested as they were to the children upon whom the norms were based (Sanchez, 1934, p. 766).
>
> Mercer (1971) found that in California approximately 75 percent of the children in special education classes for the retarded would not have been placed if ethnic, language, and sociocultural data had been taken into account. Similar placement descrepancies involving bilingual students have been found by other studies (Cohen, 1966; McGrath, 1972; Williams, 1968).
>
> Beyen (1976) found that psycholinguistic tests, normed in English, overidentified Spanish-speaking students and stated: "many speakers of . . . Spanish face the result of being judged intellectually and linguistically inferior . . . since there are no adequate measures to assess the child's understanding of his own language." (Fineman & Ross, 1980, pp. 2-3)

THE DILEMMA

School systems, especially those that have LEP students who cover a wide spectrum of languages and cultures, are faced with a serious problem: to provide nonbiased assessment in the child's dominant language for all of these children. Although the litigation and studies referred to above showed an overrepresentation of LEP students in special education, some recent studies indicate that currently there is an *under*representation of these students in special education. "While Blacks in Montgomery County tend to be overrepresented in special education programs, Asians and Hispanics are underrepresented. In light of the crisis situations from which many of the recent LEP enrollees have come, this is a cause for concern" (Towers, 1981, p. 5).

There seem to be three reasons for this recent shift in statistics. The first stems from characteristics of the children themselves. "The specific kinds of problems to be dealt with here tend to

revolve around . . . the inappropriate lack of referral of LEP children who may indeed have a bona fide handicapping condition but who are so quiet and unobtrusive that no one notices them" (Towers, 1981, pp. 10-11). The second emanates from characteristics of the child's parents. "In many cultures, there is a reticence on the part of parents to discuss what may be considered a disgrace or a shame and what in their own country is probably not something with which the government is prepared to help" (Towers, 1981, p. 12). The third seems to be due to a reluctance on the part of school personnel to administer an assessment battery that might be in violation of 20 USC 1412(5), which states: "too often LEP students . . . may not be receiving needed services to deal with a bona fide handicapping condition simply because school officials do not feel capable of properly identifying and documenting such conditions" (Towers, 1981, p. 1). However, it is important to note that this reluctance could itself result in a violation of Public Law 94-142, which mandates free appropriate public and related services to *all* handicapped children aged 3-21. "*Difference* can not be accepted automatically as *deviance*. Educators at all levels must be led to examine their personal attitudes towards difference. On the other hand, actual deviance must not be masked by cultural, racial or linguistic difference (Sennett, 1981, p. 2).

DEALING WITH THE DILEMMA

As educators, we cannot let this dilemma paralyze us if we truly have in mind the best interests of the students. While working toward the ideal, we must use our present resources with as many precautions against bias as possible. "About the best that we can do is to move towards a system of 'least-biased assessment' in which many safeguards are present to assure that cultural differences neither mask real deviance nor are mistaken for deviance" (Sennett, 1981, p. 32). What follows is a discussion of possible strategies to achieve this goal.

STEPS BEFORE SCREENING

Indiscriminate referral of LEP students to special education can be avoided by proper teacher education. Teachers of LEP students need to be sensitive to differences in linguistic characteristics, value systems, learning modalities, and socioeconomic status of their students (NCBE, 1984, pp. 39-41). They should also allow

their students time for initial adjustment before making any judgments on behavior or performance:

> Care should be taken to give at least a 2 or 3 month settling in period for new refugees, entrants from other countries, and kindergarten or first grade entrants from non-English-speaking households before referrals are initiated. Exceptions for this should be made for students who fail hearing or vision screenings or who show evidence of severe handicapping conditions which would not permit placement in regular programs. (Marshall, 1981, p. 12)

If, after this settling-in period, the teacher sees little or no improvement, she should make structured observations of the child's behavior and performance in order to obtain objective data. "The necessity for specific descriptive samples of behavior, rather than opinion statements or global assessments of a child's functioning, should minimize the biasing impact of language, culture, and socioeconomic status discussed earlier" (NCBE, 1984, p. 42).

Teachers should also be able to show that they have modified the instructional program for the student with little or no success. All resources available in the building should be tapped first before referring the child for special education.

> It is expected that each school will routinely utilize available support services such as psychologists, visiting teachers, counselors, remedial reading, bilingual programs and other curriculum support personnel as a means of accommodating varying student needs. Teachers and principals will call on such services when modification of the learning environment is indicated for any individual or group of students. (Freeman and Ross, 1980, p. 6)

ASSESSMENT CONSIDERATIONS

The ideal method of assessment is testing in the student's dominant language using culture-fair test instruments. This method required a bilingual psychologist who administers, in the student's native language, a test that has been normed on that population. This type of assessment is sometimes possible, most often in the case of Spanish-speaking children. When there is no bilingual psychologist on the staff, an outside psychologist may be procured on a per-diem basis. However, even in this ideal situation there are certain precautions to be taken.

First, school personnel must be careful in assuming that the child's native language is his or her dominant language. This assumption may be true for activities around the home but not necessarily for academic tasks, especially if the student had little or no schooling before coming to the United States.

> Some students may have basic information in the home language but perform more proficiently in English in academic areas. Evaluation in both languages can often be a useful diagnostic tool. Language dominance and English language proficiency information should be a standard part of the referral packet for all students from non-English backgrounds. (Marshall, 1981, p. 12)

Second, one cannot assume that a test in the child's native language is therefore normed on the appropriate population. Norms for Mexican-American students may be quite different from those for Puerto Ricans or Nicaraguans, even though they share a common language (Towers, 1981, p. 15). Such discrepancies have led some school systems to establish their own local norms. This solution, too, has been the subject of controversy.

> Some professionals claim that many low income and minority children are constrained by a system that keeps judging their performance in light of norms of the dominant culture, and that the use of special group or regional norms allows comparison of the child to other children who have had similar opportunities and experiences. Professionals on the other side of the controversy claim that a useful standardization sample is drawn from different regions in the United States and is stratified by age, sex, socioeconomic status, and racial-ethnic groups in the same proportion as that in which these groups appear in society. These professionals feel that local and special group norms are, in the end, provincial. Although the practice of using local or special norms sounds progressive and humanitarian, it actually works against the child's mobility. The end result of comparing a child to special and local norm groups is that of confining him in those groups. (Bailey, 1980, pp. 593-594)

One alternative when a bilingual psychologist is not available is the use of an interpreter. Here, too, special precautions should be taken. In selecting an interpreter, educators should take into account the person's background and educational experiences. College graduates are preferred. The interpreter must also be proficiently bilingual so that she or he can communicate with the examiner in English and understand the test instrument. In situations where few qualified persons are available, cooperative arrangements can be made on a regional basis to share the qualified interpreter among school districts (Marshall, 1981, pp. 17-18).

It is also important to train the interpreter in how to function in the test situation. Training needs may vary based on the person's background and experience but may include:

a. The importance of standardized procedures and wording.
b. The importance of rapport with the student.
c. Avoidance of nonverbal cues to the student.

d. Having the trainee take the tests that he/she will be required to translate. This should be followed by discussion of potentially biased items or items which may not translate appropriately into the language involved.
e. Having the trainee develop a list of difficult terms to be translated for each test so that translations will be standardized for all students.
f. Having two or more trainees of the same language translate to each other, correct inappropriate wording and standardize their administration techniques and terminology. (Marshall, 1981, p. 18)

In instances where the preferred test instrument is not available in the child's dominant language, some school systems have gone to the trouble and expense of having a test translated in order to meet federal standards. Although this seems admirable, it, too, can present problems.

> Numerous tests have been directly translated into other languages, especially Spanish. Often little consideration has been given to the relative item difficulty in the other language. As one example, *edificio* is plate number 126 on the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (PPVT) in English. When translated into Spanish as *edificio* it becomes the common word generally used for *building*. Its item difficulty has been severely decreased. Translations of reading, spelling and vocabulary tests suffer most greatly from this problem. The practice of direct translation is to be discouraged and the examiner should look with caution on any test which has been translated without adequate field testing and norming of the translated test. Good standardization can go a long way toward uncovering biased items, poor translation, and necessary item modifications. To do this job adequately requires much more time and effort than is involved with mere translation. (Marshall, 1981, p. 19)

The alternative to the use of a translated test, then, seems to be the use of a nonverbal test, using an interpreter to explain directions. Educators must be aware, however, that using such a test instrument can still involve an element of bias—that of time. Most of these instruments are timed and normed accordingly. However, students from many cultures, especially the Indochinese, do not function well under time constraints, inasmuch as their culture values quality of work over speed. The examiner must make a judgment whether to enforce the time limits, thereby penalizing the student, or to lift the time restraints, thereby interfering with the standardized procedures.

In situations where a bilingual psychologist is not available, the examiner must be prepared to take extraordinary measures to establish rapport with the student being tested.

> Rapport, for example, is critically important for testing situations. . . . Where the examiner and examinee belong to different cultural groups or speak different languages, large differences may be expected. With little perceived commonality on the part of either examiner or examinee, rapport may be difficult or even impossible to establish. The whole situation is often further complicated by the presence of test anxiety. Children referred for testing in most school systems are already exceptional in some respect, usually experiencing failure in one or more areas. Test situations in general, and one-on-one testing situations with an unfamiliar adult who is probably different culturally, racially or linguistically in particular may provoke extreme anxiety in the child. Unless the examiner is aware of this the child may appear to be handicapped or more severely handicapped than he she really is, rather than anxious. True exceptionalities may remain hidden by an anxiety causing overall poor performance. (Freeman & Ross, 1980, pp. 13-14)

RECOMMENDATIONS

The various ways of dealing with the dilemma discussed above seem to be fraught with problems and special considerations. At present, there seems to be no way to assess an LEP student for special education that allows one the satisfaction of knowing for certain that federal regulations have been met. Here, again, we must not allow ourselves to be paralyzed by the situation, leaving children with special needs without the appropriate education that is their right. Professional judgment must be used in striving for the least-biased assessment available.

Probably the best way to ensure the least-biased assessment is to use a truly multifaceted approach—one that does not rely so heavily on a single test that may have questionable validity and reliability for LEP students. This approach is likely to require a new mind-set on the part of most school psychologists, but it is crucial if we are to yield an evaluation that we can live with in conscience.

One method of achieving a multifaceted evaluation that has gained respect in recent years is the SOMPA (System of Multipluralistic Assessment), a diagnostic system developed by J. R. Mercer and J. F. Lewis. This is a procedure (not a test) based on a three-part model:

(1) the medical clinical model, designed to answer questions about the pathological state of the organism;
(2) the social system model, designed to answer questions about the behavior of an individual within his social setting; and
(3) the pluralistic or general intelligence model, which attempts to answer questions about the individual's mental

ability or potential for learning (Mercer & Lewis, 1978, pp. 50-60).

The Dade County Public School System in Miami, Florida, uses a six-part model that includes assessment in the following areas: intellectual, academic, adaptive behavior, process, speech, and personality (Marshall, 1981, pp. 19-34).

The Brockton (Massachusetts) Public School System uses the Brockton Battery, which they developed, or other appropriate bilingual tests to determine the following:

> (a) the student's proficiency in his native language as well as in English; (b) if a difference exists between the student's expressive language and receptive language abilities in both languages; (c) whether or not the student demonstrates a lack of adaptive behavior in the home or in school; (d) the appropriateness of his cognitive abilities to learn in English; (e) how the student best "receives, retains, processes and expresses" information in his native language as well as in English. (Sennett, 1981, p. 14)

Being open to the inclusion of assessment measures other than norm-referenced tests may be the key to an evaluation about which we can feel satisfied. One such measure is the criterion-referenced test.

> A number of professionals have argued that increased use of criterion-referenced tests in the evaluation process would force decision makers to focus on the specific educational needs of children, as opposed to focusing on the labeling process. (A criterion-referenced measure compares a child's performance with some standard of mastery, whereas a norm referenced measure compares a child's performance with that of other children.) This practice should facilitate nondiscriminatory decision making because the process then becomes one of (a) identifying basic skills that most children are expected to achieve, (b) assessing all children to determine which of these skills are present, and (c) designing appropriate instructional strategies to teach the remaining skills. (Bailey, 1980, p. 593)

Though this seems to be a sound and useful approach to identifying deficiencies, it does have certain problems. "First, the current status of state and federal laws and funding systems necessitates a continuation of the labeling process. To suggest that school systems ignore mandatory guidelines for classification and placement of children would be unwise. Second, even if school systems were free to adopt a criterion-referenced approach to evaluation, this would not necessarily insure nondiscriminatory decision making. Many of the discriminatory aspects of norm-referenced measures, such as wording or content can be found in criterion-referenced measures as well" according to Bailey (1980, p. 593). Despite these problems, these tests have a

definite contribution to make to the evaluation process. According to Bailey:

> Criterion-referenced measures, however, can be extremely useful in making appropriate educational decisions. They can also fulfill the mandates for nondiscriminatory assessment when the following conditions are met:
>
> 1. The importance of the skills measured by the instrument and taught in the curriculum are agreed upon by culturally diverse groups within the school system.
> 2. Criterion-referenced items are constructed so as not to measure the skills of children from a particular cultural group unfairly.
> 3. Alternative instructional strategies are incorporated to meet the learning needs of individual children. (Bailey, 1980, p. 593)

The answer? Use criterion-referenced tests *in addition to* the norm-referenced tests usually included in evaluations.

> For a long time information from criterion-referenced devices was considered inadequate for making placement decisions. Actually, they provide information that is crucial in determining the program that best meets a child's educational needs. Both criterion-referenced and norm-referenced tests should be considered before making an educational decision, because each provides a perspective that the other does not. Decision makers should incorporate information from a wide range of sources before making significant placement decisions. (Bailey, 1980, p. 593)

Another measure whose value assessment teams must be open to recognizing is the structured observation using checklists of observable behaviors. Many school systems have developed these checklists as a means of providing evidence of specific behaviors symptomatic of special learning problems. There is even a formal instrument developed by Meier, Cazier, and Giles called the Individual Learning Disabilities Classroom Screening Instrument that can be used for this purpose. These checklists tend to be very thorough, can be completed by the classroom teacher, and provide very useful information.

Tam Dang Wei, a Vietnamese psychologist for the Illinois schools, recommends the use of clinical observations for Vietnamese students. Though she does not appear to use behavior checklists, she is careful to take notes on concrete, observed behaviors.

> The student is followed throughout the school day. Attempt is made to observe the child in as many types of classroom activities as possible. This should include some academic work (math, reading, class discussion), some physical activities (PE, recess, art), and some special classes (ESL, speech, special reading, math, language development, library . . .). Physical education and recess are most appropriate times to asess the child's motor coordination and also to observe his/her interaction with the peer group. Special classes

> are observed in order to evaluate the types of services that the local schools provide in order to coordinate any further services that he she may need. (quoted in Fineman & Ross, 1980, p. 10)

Though this is a time-consuming process, its contribution to a sound and thorough assessment seems invaluable.

Information from educational tests can also be very helpful if considered along with other assessment data. "The teacher's test results can provide objective data needed to justify referral. Tests should be used for diagnostic-prescriptive purposes, that is, assessment of a child's strengths and weaknesses relative to instructional goals" (NCBE, 1984, p. 43).

Parental input must be sought out and valued as well, if one is to have a truly multifaceted assessment. This is another instance where a bilingual team member or interpreter is needed, not only because of language differences but because of cultural differences and rapport as well.

> The role of this team in working with the parents of LEP children in particular is significant. Often times the best source of information about a child is the parent. Because of the language barrier and more frequently the cultural barrier, LEP parents are not anxious to share problem situations with school officials. This can and often has led to not only incomplete school records but faulty ones. While MCPS (Montgomery County Public Schools) referral, assessment, and placement procedures emphasize working with the parents of handicapped children, monolingual staff have not always been successful in this activity. (Towers, 1981, p. 12)

One strategy that can simplify and lend consistency to the evaluation is to have one (or more than one in a very large school system) assessment team that takes all LEP referrals for special education. Montgomery County Public Schools and Dade County Public Schools have formed bilingual assessment teams for this purpose. "A differential diagnostic procedure which would be administered by a team consisting of bilingual special educators and bilingual members of the Guidance Staff and Bilingual department teachers was decided upon" (Sennett, 1981, p. 22).

If a bilingual assessment team is not feasible because of a lack of qualified bilingual staff members or the number of foreign languages represented in the population, a mobile assessment team can still be formed to evaluate all LEP special education referrals, and a list of trained interpreters can be kept on call. In this way, rather than trying to educate and sensitize all assessment personnel throughout the system, efforts can be concentrated on a few selected individuals. "This approach of a multidisciplinary centralized mobile team has much to recom-

mend it over other approaches such as training existing psychologists and special education diagnosticians on a decentralized basis" (Towers, 1981, p. 13).

All of these recommendations necessitate the formation of one crucial element that must be present in our work it if is to benefit the child, and that is an attitude of openness and cooperation between special education personnel and ESL personnel. As one who has taught both special education and ESL, my experience is that the two departments have much in common and a great deal to give to each other. Cooperation between the two can bring about mutual enrichment, understanding, and sensitization as well as the good of the child. This spirit of cooperation must cut through central office and departmental politics, and a tendency to guard one's own "sacred" territory, in order to allow staff members to deal with the issues honestly and openly. According to Sennett (1981), these issues as we see them seem to boil down to (1) Who has the perceived time and capability for individualized teaching, (2) Who has the necessary staff, and (3) Who has the money to develop or to buy new programs? A fourth, more subtle, issue might also be: Who is receiving the political and statutory pressure? In economically restrictive times, these questions are critical to the process and very often become the hidden agendas of local school systems (p. 25).

Amidst all the controversy and concerns we must not lose sight of the purpose that calls us together in the first place: deciding the most appropriate program of services for each child. While this goal probably served as a major impetus for the movement toward nondiscriminatory evaluation, it has since taken a secondary role as professionals have focused on attempts to establish equality in testing. Little has been done to assess the impact of these procedures on the quality of the services children receive. "Children are not usually referred for evaluation on a teacher's whim. A referral indicates a significant educational problem that is unlikely to be remedied without some form of additional intervention with the teacher or child. It is the responsibility of the evaluation team to insure that the need for intervention is adequately documented and to determine the service approach that best meets the child's needs" (Bailey, 1980, p. 595).

The child's needs. Isn't that what we're all about? We must lead the child, using the best means at our disposal, toward the fulfillment of the ultimate goal of public education: "a child who

can compete successfully within American society. The question of which language should be used for teaching is really a moot question. It is more important to use everything within our arsenal and repertoire of educational skills to bring the child to this point. Anything else does violence to everything we know about education" (Sennett, 1981, p. 33).

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Contributors

Adalberto Aguirre, Jr. is Associate Professor of Sociology at the University of California at Riverside, where he has served as Assistant Dean of the School of Humanities and Social Sciences (1981-1985), Chair of the Linguistics Program (1983-1985), and Chair of the United States-Mexico Research Program (1982-1986). His principal research interests are in applied linguistics, minority labor markets, and educational sociology. He edited the recent volume titled *Language Use in the Chicano Speech Community* (The Hague: Mouton, 1985).

Tomás Arciniega is President of California State College, Bakersfield.

Billy E. Askins is Professor and Associate Dean of the College of Education at Texas Tech University, where he teaches courses in secondary education. He is interested in the teaching of thinking skills and is active in inservice education and program evaluation for school districts.

Leonard Baca is Professor of Bilingual-Bilingual Special Education at the University of Colorado, Boulder.

Andrés Barona is Assistant Professor of Educational Psychology at Arizona State University where he coordinates the school psychology emphasis in psychological services for the bilingual and multicultural communities. His primary research interest is assessment, with emphasis on minority issues and professional training issues.

Jim Bransford is Director of the Evaluation Assistance Center (EAC-West) at the University of New Mexico, Albuquerque.

Elverio Chávez is an assistant professor at Texas Tech University, where he teaches various courses in Spanish linguistics in the Department of Classical and Romance Languages. He also teaches Chicano literature and courses in contrastive analysis of interdialectal differences intended for the preparation of bilingual education teachers.

Rodolfo L. Chávez is Director of the Bilingual Multicultural Education-Counseling Program at Eastern New Mexico University in Portales. He has been involved in parent training for the past several years.

Rudolfo Chávez Chávez is Associate Professor and Director of Bilingual Education at California State College, Bakersfield.

Jayni Flores is Assistant Professor of Bilingual Education at Northern Arizona University at Flagstaff. She is also Director of a Title VII Bilingual-Multicultural Education Personnel Training Grant.

Anne Gallegos is Assistant Professor of Special Education at the University of Texas at El Paso. She has been the recipient of a postdoctoral fellowship at the University of Colorado.

Roberto Gallegos is Associate Professor of Bilingual Education at New Mexico State University, Las Cruces. He has been the recipient of a postdoctoral fellowship at the University of Colorado, Boulder.

Eugene E. Garcia is Professor of Education and Psychology at the University of California, Santa Cruz. He has been a recipient of a 5-year National Kellogg Fellowship and has received numerous academic and public honors. He has published extensively in the area of language teaching and bilingual development.

Hermán S. Garcia is Director of Bilingual Education at Texas Tech University. He conducts research related to minority students' dropout and attrition rates. He has cochaired two symposia on prevention and retention and chaired a subcommittee of the Lubbock Independent School District's Dropout Task Force (1985-87).

Anne Richardson Gayles is Professor of Secondary Education Foundations at Florida A&M University, Tallahassee.

Cynthia González is a school psychologist in Bryan, Texas, and a doctoral candidate in school psychology at Texas A&M University in the Hispanic Doctoral Training Project in the Department of Educational Psychology.

Leslie Huling-Austin is Assistant Professor of Education at Southwest Texas State University, San Marcos. When the study reported herein was in progress, she was a senior research associate at the Research and Development Center for Teacher Education at the University of Texas at Austin.

William L. Johnson is an educational researcher and Chairman of the Department of Mathematics at Ambassador College, Big Sandy, Texas.

Liliana Minaya-Rowe is Associate Professor of Bilingual Education at the University of Connecticut.

Olelia Miramontes is Assistant Professor of Bilingual Bilingual Special Education at the University of Colorado, Boulder.

John Robinson is Assistant Professor of Journalism at the University of Texas at Tyler.

Nancy Rowch is Director of Bilingual Education for the state of Nebraska in the Nebraska Department of Education, Lincoln.

Mary Beth Ryan has taught at the elementary, secondary, and adult levels. She is currently director of a bilingual vocational education program funded by the Virginia Department of Education, and education coordinator for the Refugee Unaccompanied Minors Program of the Catholic Charities in Richmond, Virginia.